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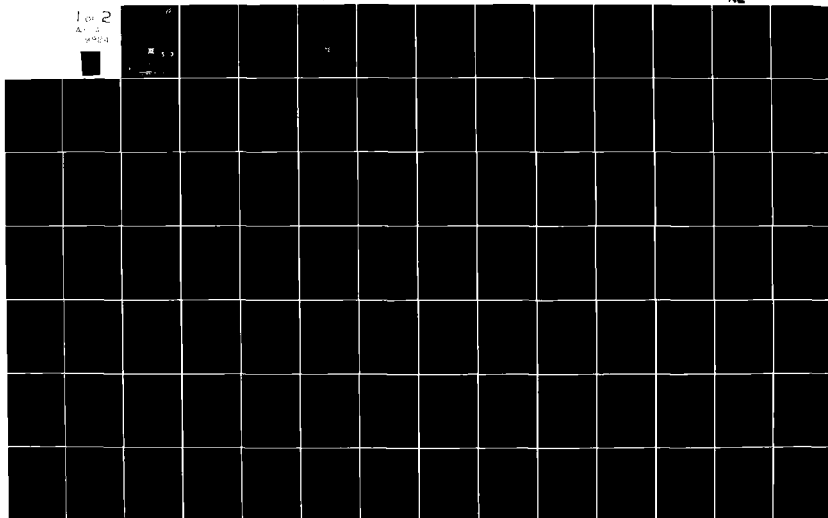
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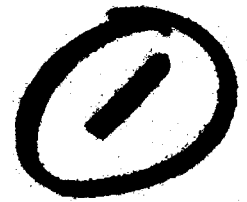
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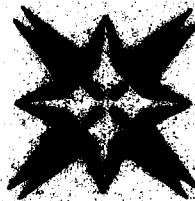
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PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION:
THE IMPACT OF BLACKS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ORGANIZATIONS



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Organizational Responses: The organizations were responsive to the forces operating in the society; however, their responsiveness was dictated by the strength of force inherent in their historical values and commitments in the face of new or emerging values. Tensions were generated by adherence to old values while simultaneously evincing compliance with new ones. While the number of black recruits to the organizations was increasing, the number was insignificant to effect any structural changes. Other changes observed were peripheral. During the post-revolutionary period of the 1970's the organizations, having demonstrated a modicum of compliance with civil rights legislation, began to reassert their historical images and to reinstitute traditional values, only slightly modified by enlightenment gained during the revolutionary 1960's.

Group Responses: The adaptive patterns of blacks as an ethnic group were influenced by three controlling variables: group size, perceived oppressiveness of the organization and prevailing conditions in the society. During the 1960's the number of blacks in the organizations was very small; however, they formed a cohesive group. The commonly perceived oppressive atmosphere of the organization increased group cohesiveness. Confrontations with the organizations usually produced peripheral organizational changes. Desired social ends were defined by the times; group efforts were directed toward maintaining ethnic solidarity. Socio-emotional competencies were rewarded by group members. In the 1970's, the social revolution had reached its peak. The size of the black group in the organizations had increased with an accompanying diversity of outlooks and philosophies among members. Efforts to maintain ethnic identity through group behaviors could at best effect "black presence." With greater diversity of individual types, efforts to effect social change were frustrated. Increasingly, acquisition of instrumental competencies, e.g. academic achievement, job proficiency, loomed larger than group solidarity.

Individual Responses: It is at the individual level that the range and variation of adaptive patterns among blacks can be seen most clearly. Individual adaptive patterns gave rise to the following types:

THE SUPER BLACKS - These were individuals preoccupied with maintaining ethnic identity.

THE ECLECTICS - These were individuals who could move in and out of various groups and settings with some degree of comfort.

THE ORGANIZATION PEOPLE - These were individuals preoccupied with achievement of organizational goals through conforming behavior.

THE CONFLICTED - These were individuals torn between identification with ethnic values and organizational values.

THE LONERS - These were individuals who tended to withdraw from most group affiliations to reflect on self.

In an overriding way, the adaptive patterns of blacks in the three preeminently white organizations reflect their diminished hopes for a better social world.

PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION:
THE IMPACT OF BLACKS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ORGANIZATIONS

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Inquiries into the impact of blacks on the majority-controlled institutions in which they have been accepted in the past two decades are many, yet inconclusive. This study of that impact--as well as of blacks themselves in former white settings--deals with two venerable American institutions: the higher education enterprise and the United States Navy. Education is the chief instrument through which America's values, ideals, and other goals are fulfilled and transmitted; the military is the chief instrument for their protection from outside forces. Moreover, each had an important role to play in events which gave rise to the ferment of the early 1960s, which was, in large measure, spawned by the rapid push of young blacks for equality of access into doors that had hitherto been closed to them; and for whose opening at that time had a legal base in Supreme Court decisions. It must be remembered, too, that the older-generation blacks had laid the foundation for this quantum leap forward by their offsprings through painstaking and arduous struggles over many years, which finally resulted in a breakthrough to integration in Brown vs. Board of Education.

Perkins (1968) points to the impact of integration of both institutions included in this study. "Certainly in the long and tangled history of race relations in this country, two events of the recent past have done as much as anything to provide the impetus for the civil rights movement of the 1960s. One was the Second World War, in which hundreds

of thousands of black and white soldiers fought and in which, as Charles Silberman has pointed out, the Negro lost his fear of the white. The other event was the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in the Brown case, which so eloquently stated that educational equality could be achieved only by educational integration."

In the mid-Sixties the legal base for integration of the American society was firmly established--through the courts, by acts of the Congress, and in Federal Executive orders. But what happened when the long-closed doors were finally opened to blacks--what effect did this new entry have on blacks themselves as well as on the majority-controlled institutions? Why was there so much overt--as well as devious--circumvention by whites to thwart effecting the law of the land? Why did bitterness and distrust of whites continue to permeate the black community, resulting in a vigorous push by blacks for their own "identity" in these new situations? One answer to this last question was given in a seminar sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in 1971. "Any white person in this country who asks why black people are exploding, and why black people are angry, suggests something is very seriously wrong with the kind of education he or she is getting . . . " (Mann, 1972). Yet there is a larger dimension to the problem. Pifer (1974) says:

It is surprising, considering the very long span of the world's history and the prevalence of pluralistic societies, how little is known about the ways minority and majority communities can live together harmoniously and with respect for the autonomy of each other's cultures within the requirements imposed by the maintenance of viable nation states. The United States has rejected oppression as a solution to this problem and is also beginning to reject an assumption of automatic conformity

by minorities to the majority culture as the price of equality. The search for this knowledge will, I believe, be one of our major preoccupations for the balance of this century, with respect to blacks and other minorities as well.

As this search goes forward, our colleges and universities will be among the first institutions in the society to be involved. Indeed many of them are already deeply involved because the presence of substantial numbers of black students is having a profound effect on many campuses, and as integration progresses, the impact will be greater.

Reasonable or not, a large measure of responsibility for righting the ills of our society is relegated to America's colleges and universities. Yet historical analysis points up the fact that, until recent years, higher education in this country has been primarily a dichotomous enterprise-- blacks were trained almost entirely in black institutions; the same was true of whites. Ballard (1973), in an article aptly titled "Academia's Record of Benign Neglect," summarizes the token admission of blacks to majority-controlled colleges and universities prior to the Brown decision:

The history of blacks in white colleges begins in 1826, when the first black college graduate was given his degree at Bowdoin College. By 1910, some 693 black students had graduated from white colleges, the bulk of them after 1890. From 1826 to 1890, only 30 blacks had been graduated from all-white colleges, if one excepts Oberlin, which had graduated some 50 black students before 1890. By 1910, with the exception of Oberlin (which dominated statistics with a total of 149 graduates), Dartmouth had graduated 14 blacks, Harvard 41, Penn 29, Kansas 60, Yale 37. The rest of the students were parcelled out in ones or twos among other colleges. Typical of the admissions policy was the fact that the City College of New York, founded as an institution to serve the poor, had a total of two black college graduates by 1910.

Over the following four decades, blacks in small numbers were constantly graduating from white colleges. But by 1954, only some 4,080 out of 480,000 college freshmen entering white colleges were black.

. . . white universities felt no special mission, as centers of American culture, to incorporate the former American slaves into that culture. A small group of blacks were exposed to white higher education from 1900 to 1960, and their impact on the condition of their people is not to be underestimated.

Just as important to this study, because of its possible relevance to black dissatisfaction with majority-controlled institutions today, is the experience of some of the early blacks in these situations.

Ballard continues:

My own experience "integrating" a small, prestigious college in the flatlands of Ohio was little different from those of black students years earlier or ten years later. Central to all these experiences was a sense of spiritual and emotional bifurcation. Whether the students were children of slaves at the University of Kansas, students at Harvard or isolated black athletes on some prairie campus, the situation and their reactions to it did not differ . . . Blacks had to understand that they were still considered blacks by their white classmates and white society at large.

Throughout the literature, blacks recount the psychological pressures of the white colleges. "And understandably the human toll on sensitive young blacks living in this divided existence was great" (Ballard, 1973). In the early years when few blacks were enrolled in these institutions, they frequently sought friendship and solace in nearby black communities. When larger numbers were admitted after the mid-Sixties, blacks banded themselves together in resistance to what they considered to be a racist environment. They insisted on dormitory and cafeteria facilities earmarked especially for blacks, as well as curricular changes to include black studies programs. The irony of the situation is that after blacks had legally been granted the right of integration, they

chose to segregate themselves.

The debilitating results of educational dualism in America's primary and secondary schools were brought clearly into focus when larger numbers of blacks were admitted to white higher institutions. These colleges and universities had to rapidly establish remedial programs and special counseling--which black institutions had been doing all along, as well as to provide massive financial assistance for blacks. In the minds of many blacks, admissions policies were changed primarily to meet the requirements of the Federal government, and there seemed, as Ballard pointed out, no special mission or commitment to the education of blacks. These new accommodations were instituted on "trial and error" bases. Many of the open admissions policies at these institutions resulted in what has been termed popularly a "revolving door" policy, because few blacks were graduated in the early years of integration.

Similar to higher education, yet different in terms of the juxtaposition of discrete units of blacks and whites in one group, the American armed forces--as protectors of the society--traditionally utilized only a paltry few blacks.

In 1866 Congress provided that "the enlisted men of two regiments of Infantry and . . . the enlisted men of two regiments of Cavalry shall be colored men" In 1939 two Negro Quartermaster Regiments were partially organized in the form of Truck Companies in the motor transport service. Soon thereafter, but before the inauguration of the Selective Service in 1940, the 249th Field Artillery Regiment, the first Negro organization of the kind since World War I was activated. The War Department in 1940 announced that "the strength of the Negro personnel of the Army of the United States will be maintained on the general basis of proportion of Negro population of the country" (Foster and Hughes, 1947).

The Navy had a dismal record of black participation in the years between the two World Wars. Negroes were accepted only in the Steward's Branch, serving the personal needs of commissioned officers in their personal living and eating. This discriminatory policy was established shortly after the close of World War I, and was only changed in 1944 because of the personal convictions of the newly appointed Secretary of the Navy.

It was under Mr. Forrestal's leadership that formal Navy policies which had already begun to change were carried faster and farther than most observers would have deemed possible The Army was condemned as a reactionary Jim Crow institution. But the Navy was especially condemned, for not only were Negroes segregated in their service, but they were restricted to a branch which was intensely unpopular because of the civilian associations with it.

Again, for this study, it is important to look into some of the attitudes of blacks about serving in the armed forces prior to the mid-Sixties.

Prominent in the exceptional instances [cases of Negroes being charged with, and convicted of, violations of the Selective Service Act] was the Case of Winfred W. Lynn--a gardener of Jamaica, New York, who refused to report to the local draft board for induction. In his letter of refusal, he stated: "I am in receipt of my draft classification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction."

In the Case of Lewis Jones--a graduate of Morehouse College and resident of New York City--he refused to be drafted in World War II because he was "not a conscientious objector, but a Constitutional objector" due to discrimination of the armed forces (Negro Fact Book, 1944).

In the Navy during World War II, dramatic evidence of impaired morale was seen in three mass demonstrations, widely separated: one a mutiny at Mare Island, California; one a race riot on Guam; the other a hunger strike of Negro Seabees at Port Hueneme, a naval supply base in California. These outbursts stimulated the Navy to clarify its policies regarding the utilization of Negro manpower. Subsequent policy directives stressed full utilization of Negroes in all rates and rating branches, full opportunity for advancement in pay grades, and full integration of all naval facilities. By costly trial and error, hit and miss, the ills of segregation in the Navy gradually gave way to integration. However, by the time of the Vietnam War, blacks, reflecting changes occurring in the larger black community, were demanding "an official recognition of their distinctive life-style and culture" (Foner, 1974).

As blacks in the Navy during World War II had launched mass demonstrations in support of integration, students during the Sixties were launching campus demonstrations to achieve goals relating to war on military activities, to minority groups, and to student-administration relations. This period of campus unrest peaked in 1970 in the aftermath of the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State and Jackson State shootings. Students were coming to regard themselves as citizens first and students second. Study for the sake of study was replaced by a demand for relevance.

Following a peak of activity in 1970, some observers noted with mixed emotions that students had returned to apathy and conformity. Vernon Jordan (1975), executive director of the National Urban League, incisively observes that "Now the bloom is off." Black students on white

college campuses are less of a novelty and white faculty and administrators have tired of efforts to effect institutional change and provide equal opportunity. Thistlethwaite (1973) reports the surprising results of his longitudinal study of 1,858 male students at 25 predominantly white colleges and universities that the moratorium on the pursuit of scientific and vocational studies imposed by students in the period preceding the episodes of May 1970 was replaced by an apparent return to "business as usual."

The problem which is the focus of this investigation was formulated against the foregoing historical backdrop and within the context of then current national concerns.

Chapter II

CONCEPTUAL MODELS

The primary objective of the study is to explore and describe the impact of the induction of an increasing number of black minority members within the boundaries of two types of traditionally and predominantly white formal organizations: institutions of higher education and the United States Navy. The impact will be explored as it has affected both the black minority members and the organizations. The study falls in the category of basic field research.

Broadly, the exploration makes use of anthropological perspective stressing a comparative framework in which social units are related to the broader social and cultural context of which they are a part. It draws attention, for example, to the way in which values and goals of a larger social system impinge on component subsystems and impact on their pattern of operation. Too, from this perspective, emphasis is placed on the need to distinguish between that which is unique in a system and that which can be attributed to larger social and cultural forces. Its use is particularly suited to the study of conditions characterized by rapid sociocultural change--conditions of modernization, urbanization, and revolution--in that it samples and assesses the range of personal exposure to and participation in the process of change (Sindell, 1969).

While the study was not designed to test formal hypotheses, key notions from existing conceptual models were used as "sensitizing concepts"

to guide both the collection and analysis of the data. The choice of models was determined by their potential relevance to three controlling components of the problem: (1) organizational functioning, (2) ethnicity, and (3) the element of uncertainty involved in maintaining social relationships. The specific models were the general theory of open social systems formulated by Katz and Kahn (1966); ethnic identity and ethnic boundary maintenance formulated by Barth (1969); and social exchange theories of Homans (1950, 1961), Gouldner (1960), and Jacobson (1973).

Many theories of organizations as systems focus on principles of internal functioning, conceiving environmental influences as "error variances" that, as such, should be excluded from studies of systems. Katz and Kahn, however, contend that far from being irrelevant, these influences are integrally related to the functioning of the system. This is so because open systems are dependent upon their continual interaction with the environment in which they are embedded to ensure a continuous flow of essential materials and human energy needed to sustain their functioning. To understand a system, therefore, requires a constant study of the forces impinging on it.

The degree to which these forces influence the internal functioning of a system depends in part upon its degree of "openness," with "openness" referring to the boundary conditions which separate the system from its environment toward the end of maintaining system integrity. One means by which a system separates itself from the environment is through the use of a coding mechanism based on the internal goals of the system. Incoming resources are either rejected or accepted and translated for system

utilization. From the reservoir of environmental resources, only those resources value-coded positively are selected.

The related concept of "permeability of boundaries" further influences the openness of a system with regard to the flow of resources. Some systems have sharply defined, rigid boundaries whereas the boundaries of other systems may be easily penetrated. In the case of rigid boundaries, "entrance into such systems and exit from them are not the decisions of the individuals who seek admittance or who seek to leave." Since recruitment is one of the most important source of system influence from the external environment, the properties of openness and permeability of boundaries seem particularly relevant to the study of the increasing number of blacks in predominantly white institutions.

After the system has imported the necessary human resources within its boundaries, attention is drawn to the maintenance question: What holds people to the performance of their roles within the system? Several concepts were chosen for their potential utility in exploring the question.

The concept of "partial inclusion," formulated by Allport (1933) and included in Katz and Kahn posits that:

The organizational role stipulates behaviors which imply only a "psychological slice" of the person, yet people are not recruited to organizations on this basis; willy-nilly the organization brings within its boundaries the entire person. The organizational demand on the individual to put aside some parts of himself for the sake of performing a role is literally a depersonalizing demand; in this sense the individual who joins with others to create an informal "organization within an organization" is fighting for his identity as a person.

Since the system neither requires nor wants the whole person, only part of the individual's life space is involved in carrying out his organizational role. Segmental involvement of the individual is the basis of organizational structure. At the same time, it also gives rise to special organizational boundary problems. Activation of those parts of the individual which are not involved in the performance of his organizational role may result in the production of behaviors less characteristic of the organizational demands and more characteristic of a melange of other social and personal commitments. In other words, the system has problems in enforcing boundary conditions ensuring behavior patterns appropriate to it; the boundaries are mainly psychological--not locational--in nature.

The allegiance of people to organizational roles is influenced in part by two other related factors: "potency of involvement" and "priority of commitment." The former concept refers to the degree of satisfaction individuals derive from meeting the behavioral expectations associated with their roles. The latter concept refers to the process by which individuals order or rank competing requirements deriving from their personal value systems, and their membership in other organizations and reference groups.

Thus, while Katz and Kahn look at boundaries from the point of view of the formal organization--the first controlling component of the problem--they allow for the problem of conflicting loyalties and competition between the formal system and other impinging systems. The impinging system--the rest of the human being admitted to the formal system but not utilized there--of significance in this study is ethnic identity and its maintenance.

Ethnic identity is the second controlling component of the problem. In his approach to the study of ethnic groups and their persistence, Barth (1969) views ethnic groups as "categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interactions between people." Ethnic groups can be seen as ways people organize themselves to be socially effective. Using ethnic groups in this organizational sense does not eliminate the need to take into account cultural differences. Objective cultural differences exist; however, the features that are significant are only those the members themselves regard as important. Analytically, the content of ethnic dichotomies are of two kinds:

. . . overt signals or signs--the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form, or general life style, and . . . basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellency by which performance is judged.

The organizational relevance of cultural features or cultural differences varies across sociocultural systems. Therefore, membership within ethnic groups depends upon "socially relevant" factors alone. Despite dissimilar overt behaviors, if an individual asserts himself to be a member of the group, it means he is willing to be treated, and his own behavior be judged, as a member of the group. Barth's model of ethnic groups and ethnic boundary maintenance provides a more flexible framework within which the impact of blacks as an ethnic group can be investigated than traditional assimilative models.

Homans (1961) views social association "as an exchange of

activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons." As process, it involves the concepts of reciprocity and complementarity. Reciprocity is a norm which regulates and limits exchange transactions in social relationships; it is a person's perception of what he is putting into as well as what he is getting from his participation in a social system. The concept of complementarity specifies the kinds of resources an individual makes available to the system. Implied in each concept is the positive expectation of future social interactions. Stability of relationships would seem to depend not only upon the capacity and reliability of partners for meeting the obligations of the relationships but on the prospect of their future association wherein the exchange process can be completed.

Strategies designed to manage uncertainty, therefore, must be such that they (1) allow the partners to build up or establish a positive expectation in the relationship that future interactions will occur, that the social transaction sustaining the relationship can be completed; and (2) that the partners can be located and will accept the sanctions regulated by the norm of reciprocity (Jacobson, 1973).

It can be seen that conditions supporting the maintenance of stable relationships at both the individual and organizational levels are characterized by a high probability of future interactions. However, in the field settings used in this study--the Navy and institutions of higher education--the positive probability of future social interactions seems less likely given the temporary nature of the assignment of individuals to organizational roles. Too, the presumed lack of trust existing between

minority and majority groups should increase the saliency of the element of uncertainty in both field observations and in data analysis.

Using sensitizing concepts derived from theories of social psychology, anthropology and sociology, we arrive at a general conceptual model guiding the study which draws attention to organizational openness and boundary maintenance, the rules underlying the principles of ascription in the maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries and, finally, to the role of managing the element of uncertainty in maintaining social control and stable relationships.

It is proposed that the impact being investigated in this study will be partially revealed in the observed pattern of resource exchange underlying social processes as seen at the organizational and group levels of analysis.

Research Design and Methodology

A full description of the research design and methodology is included in this report as Appendix A. Here, selected features are briefly summarized.

The study was conducted during a two-year period: June 1974 through May 1976. During the first year (1974-1975), field work was done on the campuses of two predominantly white institutions of higher education referred to as "The College" and "The University." During the second year (1975-1976), field work was done at a U. S. Naval Base. The two institutions of higher education were located in distinctly different cultural areas within the Deep South where current efforts to produce racial

integration continued to evoke disquieting community responses. They also varied in size, type of clientele served, and historical stances with respect to interracial education. One represented an organization with a tradition of interracial education, the other a short history of integration. The Naval Base was selected because it was thought to be representative of naval bases with a variety of sea and shore operations and should have, therefore, a representative sample of navy personnel.

Each of the three organizations was compared with itself rather than in relation to each other but not to the exclusion of observed differences and similarities.

Four approaches were used to collect the data: investigation of documents and archival materials, direct observations, interviews, and questionnaires. The questionnaire developed for the Naval Base was sent to the Bureau of Naval Personnel for official approval at a time when fleet units and fleet commanders were complaining to the Chief of Navy Personnel about "the number of surveys and questionnaires impacting on them." As a result of these complaints, the Chief of Navy Personnel directed the Bureau not to issue any more surveys to fleet units until the situation was under control. Consequently, the questionnaire was not administered.

The questionnaires developed for the two institutions of higher education and the Naval Base are not included as appendices. However, copies are available upon request.

Chapter III

THE ORGANIZATIONS

CASE I: THE COLLEGE

Background Characteristics of Students

At the time of the study, black students* attending The College constituted about 11.3% of the total enrollment of 1230. Most of them came from hometowns outside "the territory" traditionally served by The College; one-fourth of them came from large metropolitan areas. By contrast, most of the white students had grown up in a small town or rural areas inside the territory, a third of them being from communities about one hundred miles distance from The College. This geographical emphasis is consistent with The College's policy that eighty percent of its students must come from the mountain area.

Data on black students provided a picture of a typical family group of more than six members, with parents of limited education (seventy-two percent of fathers and fifty-four percent of mothers having less than high school training), and low income. Twenty-three percent earned less than \$3,000 per year, and forty-four percent earned less than \$6,000 per year. A negligible few were in professional, managerial, and technical occupations. Fathers were mainly employed in trades, services and construction; mothers were either housewives or workers in service occupations.

* Does not include students from foreign countries.

The white students, on the other hand, had come from smaller families; half of their fathers had at least a high school education; however, educational levels of black and white mothers were similar. Consistent with their education backgrounds, about one-fourth of the fathers of white students were in professional, technical, or managerial occupations; the remainder worked in machine trades, construction and miscellaneous occupations. Conclusively, however, white students came from families which were only slightly better off economically than those of black students. The admission of students from low-income families was in keeping with the mission of The College.

A series of school experiences of black students at variance with those of the white students includes the sizes of schools attended, mix of students, and social contacts. Slightly over one-half of the black students had attended urban high schools which typically enrolled large numbers; they were frequently in predominantly white environments and had had interracial educational experiences before coming to college; most of them (83%) had established friendships with at least one member of a different ethnic background. By contrast, almost three-fourths (72.7%) of the white students attended schools with smaller enrollments (less than 900 students). Whereas 6.6% of the black students had attended integrated, predominantly black schools, none of the white students had attended such schools. A similar percentage of black and white students ((71.4% and 72.7% respectively) had attended integrated predominantly white schools; however, a significantly lower percentage of white students

(27.3%) than blacks had established friendships with at least one member of a different ethnic background.

Overall, the grades for the black students at the point of entering The College were lower than those for the white students. Forty-five percent of the black students reported an average high school grade of B+ or better as compared to sixty-two percent of the white students reporting a similar grade level. Twenty percent of the black students had an average high school grade of C+ or below while only 4% of the white students reported this level of grades.

In describing the academic backgrounds of the black students, some faculty and administrators could make a distinction between the black students who attended The College before the mid-1960's and those who came later: the former group was described as having better academic backgrounds. A black faculty member attributes this conclusion to the fact that black students had more opportunities, especially in the area of financial aid, at other schools:

It is easy for promising blacks to get scholarships, fellowships, funds, loans and to get into other schools where they are not required to work on the labor program. The College, therefore, does not have as much of the cream of the crop from the potential black students. It gets black people, black faces . . .

Concern about inadequate high school preparation and the possibility of academic failure was expressed by more white students (49.3%) than by black students (37.4%). It is possible that the white students were registering their awareness of the widely held view that rural schools in their area were of poor quality. If their apprehensiveness can be

explained in this way, the parallel apprehensiveness by black students about entering The College was the expectation of encountering racial discrimination as reported by 44% of them.

Since most of the students came from low income families, it was not surprising to find that the item "low cost" was rated as the most important factor influencing their decision to attend The College. Other factors related to the degree programs offered, quality of the academic programs and the prestige associated with The College. In general, black and white students did not differ significantly with respect to reasons for selecting The College.

The mean age for all students in both samples (The College and The University) was 20 years. The importance of this background characteristic was observed in relation to the black students especially. Their birth occurred in the decade which produced the Supreme Court's decision (Brown v. Topeka Kansas Board of Education, 1954), that separate school systems established by law--de jure--were unconstitutional. The decision ushered in a period of declaration about public education and a commitment--stated in terms of a public policy--to an open society freed from all vestiges of separatism. Affected during this same time of sweeping social change was the Navy. It had opened all jobs and ratings and all courses in technical schools to blacks. Blacks were integrated in basic training, on the job, and in messing and sleeping quarters both ashore and afloat.

In many ways, the black cohort in this study had not been exposed to certain common historical experiences that were critical sources of

black ethnic identity. They had experienced neither the harshest forms of the "centuries-long treatment of blacks as inferiors" nor the "drawbacks of legal and sanctioned segregation." For example, many of them had had interracial educational and social experiences prior to the time they entered The College. Although the Movement of the 1960's had reached its peak at the time when these black students were too young to be active participants, they were, nevertheless, heirs to the cumulative social changes effected by earlier generations. The essence of their inheritance was hope. Their hopeful expectations had begun to show signs of erosion since 44.4% expected discrimination at The College.

Foner (1978) points out, from an age stratification perspective, that:

One age cohort succeeds another. Each cohort is unique in that it is formed at a particular juncture of history, its members share the same slice of history . . . Each cohort bears the stamp of the historical context through which it flows.

The slice of history the black students shared influenced their attitudes towards The College and the ways they related to others and among themselves.

The College Environment

The College is located in a very small community in a sparsely populated mountainous area of the East South Central region of the country. The population of the community and its surrounding area is further characterized by a very small number of black residents. The College is committed to educating poor students--predominantly white--

from the region who would find it difficult or impossible to go to any other institution of higher education.

Since its founding, definite consistencies have held the experiences of The College together despite ensuing changes. Its continued mission has been staunchly Christian, protestant, missionary, and perhaps a bit smug in its self-righteousness. It has been a keeper of the morals, an enlightened beacon in the wilderness. Its philosophy has emphasized hard work, achievement, morality--the protestant ethic. It can be seen as a paradigmatic organization of Christian teachings, small town virtues, protestant work ethic--in short, a bastion of Christian moral integrity.

The College is widely acclaimed as a reputable institution in the academic world. A degree from The College is thought to be so prestigious that "lots of students get jobs just by saying that they graduated from it." Indeed, among the factors involved in the students' decision to attend The College, academic prestige ranked second only to low costs.

The environment of The College mirrors in some ways the surrounding culture. Its educational program perpetuates certain elements of the Appalachian culture as seen in such institutionalized indigenous activities as folk singing, folk dancing, mountain climbing and arts and crafts. The ubiquitous rules and regulations governing almost every aspect of college life were also interpreted by some as expressions of the same culture. More important for purposes of this study, the people of the mountains were thought to be clannish, suspicious of outsiders and as a rule did not make friends easily. They did not like blacks as a group but were capable of forming meaningful relationships with individual blacks. Other aspects

of the mountain culture were reflected in a popular, stereotypic image of the white students at The College.

This image had apparently developed through the years and projected such descriptive features as rustic, dirty, poverty-stricken, backwoods, unsophisticated. Whatever historical realities might have given rise to this image, clearly they did not exist at the time of the study. Yet the image remained alive and was both a source of humor and discomfort. An often repeated campus joke involves the student government president addressing an incoming freshman class. During the course of his address, he advises the group that they were fortunate because that year The College had received a donation of new shoes with a wide variety of sizes. He promised that, in all likelihood, each new student would find a pair that would fit.

Although the imposed image was an uncomfortable one to accept and a source of resentment among all students, some took advantage of it when it suited their individual needs. There was the case of a student who "hustled" a visitor to the campus by claiming that he had no money to rent shoes from The College. Other students reportedly wore T-shirts bearing the college logo to increase their possibilities of getting rides while moving about the community and surrounding area.

While the students expressed no awareness of the exploitative, manipulative nature of their own behaviors, they were extremely sensitive to similar manipulations or exploitations by faculty and administrators. One student observed that:

The College stands high in academics as far as I'm concerned. But the image that they have set for themselves may not be what it appears to be. They try to appeal to people from whom they can benefit. Their concern is trying to get money through the image they place on students here.

In a similar vein, the students were sensitive to what they perceived as an apparent inconsistency inherent in The College's ideals, commitment to Appalachia on the one hand and commitment to interracial education on the other. They were also alert to any perceived inconsistency between organization ideals and practices. The following observations capture something of this mood:

The College is an establishment designed to further deprived Appalachian students' education through integrated measures. It is 'supposed' to be a religious foundation that is designed to further the brotherhood of all races. In these respects, The College is looked upon as a very excellent college. But within its interior, all is not like that . . .

The College has proved to me in the few months I have been here that one should not judge a book by its cover. The propaganda I received is in great contrast to the realities I face as a student here . . .

This perceived lack of organizational integrity aroused feelings of apathy and disillusionment among many of the students--white, and especially, black.

The lack of rapture for alma mater was no different from cynical attitudes popular among this age group toward all established organizations. Yet, disillusionment with one's social world produces feelings of isolation, alienation, resentment.

Black students, coming largely from outside the Appalachian region,

e.g., Birmingham, Alabama, found themselves in an environment which, in many ways, was alien to them. The College's geographical remoteness, the absence of a supportive black community in the area, the image of poverty associated with the students, and observed discrepancies between organizational commitments and practices were the specific conditions which evoked these feelings and shaped the black students' individual and group adjustments.

The College Experience

In this analysis, black students are viewed as resources which have been value coded positively by the recruiting organization, in this case, The College. This positive valuation is reflected, in part, by increased recruitment efforts to attract black students to the organization and re-allocation of existing resources to enhance their adjustment. New resources, value coded positively, within an organization constitutes only a necessary condition--not a sufficient one--for development of the system as a whole (Wall, 1970).

Resources perceived by the organization as essential to its development must be distributed throughout the system through viable linkages, e.g., direct interactions among all its component subsystems; otherwise, power imbalances are created. These imbalances, in turn, effect a hardening of boundaries between subsystems and reduce the exchange of resources and so threaten the achievement of desired organizational ends. At The College, the most viable linkages for the exchange and distribution of resources between black and white ethnic groups were the formal, academic

settings, e.g., classrooms. The boundaries of these settings were more permeable than those of the less formal, non-academic settings, e.g., extracurricular settings. In these latter settings, the potential for resource exchange was reduced since it was in these settings that black and white students tended to maintain their respective ethnic boundaries. The resulting ethnic imbalance favored the white majority culture.

Most of the black students lived in dormitories or other student housing: forty percent had no roommates, and of those that had roommates, most (73.2%) had black roommates. Similarly, the majority of white students lived on campus; however, a smaller percentage (27.9%) had no roommates, and of those that did, a larger percentage (91.8%) had white roommates. The data are not clear on the extent to which students could influence their dormitory and room assignments. This separatist pattern of living arrangements may have been a reflection of organizational structuring or of student preferences. It appeared to some, in any event, at odds with the interracial commitment of The College and was a source of concern for some students--both black and white.

One concern around separatism among existing student groups was expressed early in the field work. The field staff met with a group of student leaders for the purpose of explaining the research and to enlist their cooperation. At this session, a white student leader, representing the men's intramural sports program, spoke for his group:

One of the people in my office in intramurals said to me (prior to this meeting) . . . 'You know, there is something I don't like about this: Why is it permitted that every little clique on this campus, whether black or white or something, is allowed to live and play and do everything together? I just

don't think that is The College Way. I'm speaking that we have living arrangements where blacks stay with blacks. Another clique such as say Ag. majors can move with Ag. majors; another group reports to wherever that certain clique is. I don't think that is . . . it's not what we need in intramurals. I don't think it is what the college needs for better relations.' So that was something I was asked to relay to you.

Subsequent observations confirmed that small, informal friendship associations, based on mutual interests and feelings, were generally more potent forms of student relationships than organizational forms.

Black and white students were, generally, minimally involved in the wide range of campus organizations. A total of one hundred and three such organizations were identified. These fell into roughly eight types:

Academic/Professional, e.g., Agriculture Union, Pre-Law, Chemistry Club, Geological Society, Spanish Club

Honorary Societies, e.g., Alpha Psi Omega, Delta Phi Alpha, Beta Beta Beta

Performing Arts, e.g., College Choir, Harmonia Society, Black Ensemble, College Dancers

Religious, e.g., Baptist Student Union, Christian Council

Student Governance, e.g., Student Government Association, Campus Activities Board, House Councils

Athletics, e.g., Soccer Club, Women's Recreation Association, Intramurals

Ethnic Groups, e.g., Black Students Association, African Students Union

Special Groups, e.g., Married Students Association, Veterans Association

Over half of the black students (60.2%) were members of two or three organizations in contrast to a little over a third (39%) of the white

students. Very few black students (8%) reported they did not belong to any organization whereas over a fourth (26.5%) of the white students reported they did not. This latter observation lends some support to the prevailing idea that people from the surrounding cultural area do not form relationships with "strangers" readily.

Black students differed from white students in the degree of organizational involvement because of two ethnic organizations: The Black Students Association (BSA) and The Black Ensemble. Most black students held membership in the BSA although with varying degrees of involvement and commitment. The Black Ensemble was a chorus group that sang mostly religious music--gospel. Though some degree of talent was required, about forty percent of the black students belonged to it. The two black student organizations brought together the black students in a way that was not possible for the white students since the latter had no counterpart cultural organization of equal potency.

In this analysis, extracurricular activities and campus organizations were seen as "voluntary associations" and as potentially potent settings fostering cultural integration. Green (1974) discusses the role of voluntary associations in this regard. She states that participation in these associations allows for a type of interaction above and beyond that which occurs in settings where participation is geared toward instrumental ends, e.g., classrooms, lectures, convocations, varsity sports, etc. Participation serves to link "the old and the new contexts" and helps to interpret factors in the new environment which allows for better adjustment. Further, participation helps the individual to learn how to interact in new situations with people of other classes or groups,

and helps him to express his status in the community.

Extracurricular activities and campus organizations, however, were more often perceived by the black students as "white organizations" reflecting a kind of cultural solidarity and a life style very different from their own. Socially, these perceptions suggested that the boundaries of these organizations were not easily permeated. Consequently, the black students chose to express their presence, their status on campus, by separating themselves from the white students in those areas of campus life where participation was a voluntary matter. In this, the BSA was a "critical social group" as well as a political organization. To achieve social recognition, political effectiveness, and to shield any deficiencies which, in their perception, would reflect negatively on the group, black students tended to structure their encounters with white student groups.

At social dances held on campus, black students frequently reported that they would go because there was nothing else to do. Once there, they would sit together in the rear of the room talking and playing cards, since the type of music typically played was not what they enjoyed. Usually, at intermission, a black student would plug in the juke box that offered selections which the black students had managed to have included through their own maneuvering. They would dance during the intermission while white students would sit until intermission was over. A black staff member commented on a way in which black students would get involved in organized campus activities:

Blacks feel that if they don't have representation on the Campus Activity Board and help them get a black band, what they will end up with is the Hatsfield Clan. So, they get very active politically

so that they can get representation in terms of cultural affairs, that is, black bands on campus.

Sports events occasioned black students to isolate themselves:

If you go to a basketball game now, as you walk in the front of the gym, you can easily find the blacks. They will be concentrated in the rear upper left side of the gym. The same thing was true of the snack bar before it was partitioned: the black students occupied the tables to the left rear of the room.

As a matter of policy, all students at The College were eligible to join any campus organization and could, therefore, attend any of its meetings. Black students, when meeting to get "our organizational act together," would isolate themselves behind locked doors barring white students. When the perceived disorganized state of affairs had been rectified, white students were invited to participate.

In the more public, voluntary settings, black students tended to act in concert in the manner in which they structured their contacts with whites. In more private settings, black students as individuals showed more spontaneity in relating to white students as well as faculty and administration. Indeed there were many interracial friendships and some black students had formed meaningful relationships with faculty and staff members. Interracial dating relationships were also conspicuous on campus. These were a source of tension among both black and white groups.

Before a discussion of interracial dating, it should be noted that there were significant differences in the marital status and dating patterns of the black and white students. Almost one-fourth (21.7%) of the white students--in contrast to only 8.8% of the black students--were either married or engaged to be married. About one-half (46%) of the

black students were "going steady" while 32% were "dating different people." Fewer white students (25%) were "going steady," but more (42%) were "dating different people." Black and white students were more alike (13% and 10.9% respectively) in the category of "do not date." These data suggest, given the small number of black students and the disproportionate number of black females to black males (3:2), that black students might be less willing to "risk" finding a compatible dating partner by dating different people than white students. This would seem to apply especially to the black females given the sex ratio. Once black students established a dating relationship, they maintained it. There was less risk involved for white students.

Interracial dating was relatively new on campus. When black students were admitted to The College in the early 1950's, they were small in number and reportedly "well integrated into campus life." A white faculty member who was a student at The College at that time recalled that interracial dating was almost non-existent. This recollection was in contrast to what she thought to be a "high rate of interracial dating now." Furthermore, it constitutes:

the big issue right now in this community . . .
that people are most uptight and fearful and
even hung up about.

Interracial dating created resentment on campus among the black females who preferred to date black males. For them, not having a black dating partner seriously limited their social life. A black, male staff member commented that:

Even black females who would like to feel that they have good white girl friends still resenting a black and white couple passing by, if there is a black male involved in the couple . . .

The black/white thing comes in when black guys 'defect' to the other side. Then that means there is one less black male in the pot for the black girls to compete for.

Some black students viewed interracial dating as an affront to the ideology of unity espoused by the BSA. Black students who developed friendships with white students and faculty were similarly viewed, although with less emotional tinge. This view, however, was not a deterrent to the development of such relationships. Among this group of students was the president of the BSA herself.

She exhibited behaviors that in many ways were defining features of a type of black student who in contrast to the staunch advocates of black unity, could move in and out of various organizational settings with some degree of comfort. On the one hand, her identification with the aggressive BSA was felt to the extent that she was elected as its leader during her senior year. On the other hand, she worked in the counselling department as a student assistant and in this role functioned as an unofficial liaison between the "organization" and the black student group. As a black student leader, she was sensitive to perceived subtleties of racism and could design and carry out group strategies to counteract them. She could be found among the black students who set apart from the white group at public functions.

At the same time, she could form meaningful relationships with white students and faculty, and participate in extra curricular groups. The

head of the counselling department, a white female, had played a vital role as mentor in helping her to come to grips with a choice of careers and to make plans for graduate study. She respected this relationship. These behavioral characteristics were in contrast to those black students who seemed preoccupied with ethnic ideologies and behaviors and those who withdrew into themselves tending to avoid group affiliations and friendships.

In the context of an isolated rural environment with its distinct subculture, the press for conforming behaviors issuing from The College in general and from the BSA in particular, generated the need among black students to create alternative forms of adjustment. These alternatives were reflected in the structure of the black student group. There were those who could be thought of as "super blacks," opting for ethnic behaviors and values; there were those who took what they thought desirable from available options--"eclectics;" and those who looked inward to themselves, avoiding conflicts--"loners."

Academic Performance

Most of the black students were enrolled in the following academic programs: business (24.6%), arts and humanities (20.2%), education (15.7%), social sciences (14.6%), and nursing (12.3%). All students were asked to report their overall grade point averages at The College. Based on these self-reported grades, white students were performing at a higher level than black students; 82.8% of the white students achieved a grade of B- or better and 62.6% of the blacks achieved such grades. About one-third of all students thought their grade point averages were fair indicators

of their abilities. More significantly, 63.7% of the black and 57.6% of the white students thought their grade point averages "underrepresented their ability."

As reported earlier in this study, high academic standard was one of the top three factors influencing students' decision to attend The College. Similarly, students thought that most other students at The College had high academic ability. Yet few students--black and white--reported that they took advantage of "opportunities to pursue intellectual activities." Some students, however, were acutely aware that they were not performing up to par academically, but they were not always clear about the reasons. This cognitive ambiguity around their academic performance was another source of concern. One student pinpointed the problem in this way:

. . . I really don't have a problem with people from another ethnic group or (with) cultural differences . . . The question that I feel that has hurt me worst was, "Do you feel that your high school education is inadequate?" I feel that somewhere along the line I was deprived of a good academic foundation. It's hard to determine if its my school or me.

Yet the possibility of personality factors and motivational factors contributing to their level of academic performance was admitted in various ways by the students. Justifying his need for social activities, a white student commented:

Social life is not the main purpose of coming to college, but it plays an essential part on the well-being of the student. And there isn't very much here. I think The College places too much emphasis on academics.

Other factors contributing to the students' level of academic performance were noted. In its efforts to increase black student enrollment, The College effected two changes in its admission policies: (1) black students were recruited from outside the traditional territory, and (2) academic admission standards of entering black students were modified downward. The latter change meant that test scores of black applicants were usually disregarded because they had been poor predictors of academic success. Rather, emphasis was placed on high school grades and on references from high school officials. As cited earlier, The College may not have been attracting black students with high academic potential.

Furthermore, black students tended not to seek out faculty members for academic assistance. About one-fourth of the students thought that the faculty was paternalistic toward black students, that they were reluctant to confront black students about their academic work for fear of being labelled racist, and that the faculty tended to notice deficiencies among black students in a way they did not notice them among white students. Over one-half of the black students thought the administration felt black students should be grateful for the opportunities given them at The College.

With respect to academic performance, there was a high level of consensus among various elements of The College community that the black students enrolled at this time differed from those who attended it during the 1950's and 1960's. A black alumna who attended The College in the mid-1960's recalled that:

There were about fifty black students at The College. They were a very closely knit group and socially dependent upon each other. Black students were more or less docile. And they dealt with the prejudice and racism that existed by excelling in academics.

Another black alumna described the same time period in a similar way, adding that:

One subjects one's self to such conditions for that is the price one pays for a good education at The College.

Ideologically, the black students at The College in the mid-1970's appeared less willing to effect this type of exchange. Furthermore, the relevance of the traditional curriculum outside academe was challenged no less by students at The College than by those at other institutions of higher education.

Ethnic Relationships

Intermittently, an aura of tension is woven through the history of The College, emanating from its philosophical commitment to interracial education. While the degrees and kinds of tensions have varied apparently at different points in time, that they exist at The College seemed an accepted fact. It seemed an accepted fact also that The College community is one of racial harmony--even a Utopia at one extreme. Both views expressed themselves during the study.

Interviews with students revealed that tensions existed both between and within ethnic groups. Too, black and white students had various perceptions of each other and of their own ethnic groups. A series of questions was included in the questionnaire to obtain responses from

students in which they would indicate whether selected statements were true of themselves as individuals, of other black students as a group, and of white students as a group.

As individuals, black students generally agreed with statements that (1) they participated minimally in organizations sponsored by white students, (2) they preferred the company of other black students to that of white students, and (3) they spent a lot of time socializing. In describing the behavior of other black students, over one-half thought other black students would agree with the same statements but to a greater degree. Again, as individuals, almost 85% of the black students felt they related well to white students. By contrast, only 46% felt other black students related well to white students. A lower percentage (38.9%) felt that most white students related well to black students. While the data are not clear on this point, they suggest that black students may have been responding to a presupposed notion and/or to their own experiences that racial tensions do in fact exist at The College. In any case, most of the black students perceived themselves, as individuals, coping more effectively than other black and white students with whatever degree of racial tensions that existed.

There was a lack of consensus among the various components of the campus community concerning the status of race relations. Administrators and staff, while acknowledging the presence of racial conflicts around the early 1970's, tended to express positive attitudes about black/white relations. A common perception was that "now things have levelled off and black and whites are mixing better." Since very few overt incidents

of racial antagonisms were reported, others did not think there was a problem. On the other hand, both black and white students reported that there were racial tensions and these were, more often than not, associated with the more intimate, individual, day-to-day frustrations of student life. As one counselor concluded, "You have to live close to the students in order to be able to pick up interracial problems."

Organizational Responses

The College, founded in the mid-nineteenth century, is a small, private, religious but non-sectarian college whose original ethos was abolitionist, protestant, and highly supportive of the work ethic. The location chosen for The College was non-slave holding and minimally black in population. Prospective students appear to have been white only, at least at first. Slave holding elements in the area forced The College to close during the Civil War. Reorganization after the War was accomplished speedily. The newly opened College, according to its first catalogue was integrated. Perhaps earnest abolitionists, whose driving goals had been so speedily fulfilled by the War, would predictably become integrationists. At The College, at any rate, they did.

Between the Civil War and the turn of the century, a slow change in part of the philosophy of The College seems to have coincided with a changing emphasis from its leaders. While a missionary enthusiasm for protestant Christianity and protestant work ethic provided continuity in the 1800s, the tenor of interracial education was changing. Early leadership was dedicated to supplying education to all, without (much) regard to race. Later leaders seem to have favored a quota system. Efforts

were made to balance the blacks at their percent of the state population. The increase in the white enrollment was, first of all, at the expense of black students.

The purpose, or charter, of The College shifted more toward regionalism. In its early history, the public of The College was America, although the immediate locale was chosen to promote education of the non-slave poor. By the turn of the century, the public was Appalachia. Benefactors were recruited in wealthy sections of the country, but The College was dedicated more specifically to the mountain people than to interracial education.

Three steps in the evolution of The College's "charter" in the nineteenth century can be located. First, The College seems to have been an abolitionist school daringly close to enemy territory. Next, it was dedicated to interracial education. Third, it became an Appalachian school innovative in self-help, an early proponent of the work-study program and essentially white. The changes were not abrupt, and continuity was provided through continuous Christian emphasis.

From the passage of a state segregation law in 1904 (1908 by Supreme Court decision), until 1950, The College did not enroll black students. It developed its work-study approach, continued its Christian witness, and held onto some small traces of the old dedication to interracial education, e.g., black guest lecturers. With the change in state law in 1950 (four years before Brown v. Topeka Kansas Board of Education, 1954), The College reaffirmed its old dedication to interracial education. It remained, however, dedicated to the mountain people; blacks from the

mountain regions would be accepted again.

In the early 1950's, the black enrollment constituted about 7% of the enrollment, reflecting the same ratio of blacks in the state population. The black students were academically talented and were more academically homogeneous in this respect than the larger, more academically diverse group admitted during the 1960's. It was during the 1960's that The College modified its admission requirements by relying less on quantitative averages and more on qualitative attributes of the black applicants.

During the same period, students at The College, as elsewhere, were demanding inclusion of academic offerings and cultural activities that were perceived as relevant to their needs. The more general types of demands were typical, e.g., inter-room visitation, owning private cars, eliminating (or easing) compulsory chapel attendance, etc. Black students were demanding black cultural activities, black visiting lecturers and artists. In responding, The College instituted an Afro-American Studies Program, entered negotiations with the black students to allow an ethnic organization to be established, and endorsed allocation of student activities fees for its operation. In general, The College acceded to some student demands while overruling others.

Student activities at The College increasingly reflected the cultural interests and preferences of the black student group. These changes, instituted in the interests of the black students, were not always sufficient in number or satisfactory in kind. For example, there were still "too few black faculty and staff." The same changes produced

other negative responses from some white students as reflected in the following comment:

I, as a person, often feel I'm a minority here though statistically I'm not. I'm an out-of-territory student and I'm not a Baptist . . . A lot of times I feel that The College is over-emphasizing blacks and their history and activities. White people are not usually accepted at these gatherings unless they're labeled "to promote black/white understanding." We have a Black Student Association, no whites allowed; a Miss Black Student Association Pageant, only members allowed to run; a Black Ensemble, no white members; a black magazine, only contributors allowed are from the BSA; and numerous functions to which whites are not asked. It should be noted that these affairs are the only ones which restrict admittance or participation by race.

None of the changes and their reverberations, however, were of the magnitude to alter the historical stance and structure of The College, e.g., its value systems; governance; composition of administration, faculty, staff; and commitments.

The persistent quality surrounding these structures created tensions as The College made efforts to respond to emergent pressures impinging on it. The College's commitments were a case in point. Their high visibility and the espoused organizational devotion to them made them especially vulnerable to attack and to compromise.

The President of The College outlined at a faculty meeting the immediate concerns facing the institution. There was, first of all, a decline in enrollment. Competition for students was increasing with the emergence of state junior colleges and four-year colleges. Teacher education curricula would have to be modified in light of new state

certification requirements. The potential consequence of pending federal tax reform legislation could adversely affect income from contributions. And, the availability of various forms of federal student aid was threatening the viability of the student labor program, so long an essential part of the educational experiences at The College. Throughout the meeting, the disquieting issue was "whether The College would have to compromise some of its commitments."

Indeed, the source of the disillusionment among the black students was their perception that The College's commitment to interracial education was expressed in half-hearted measures.

CASE II: THE UNIVERSITY

Background Characteristics of Students

Two noteworthy characteristics of students at The University were age and place of origin. The average age of all students was twenty years. For the black students, they were members of the same cohort described in the preceding section: they had been born during the mid-1950's and socialized around concepts fashioned during the mid-1960's when "things were opening up" for black people. By the time they entered The University, the mobilization efforts of the Civil Rights Movement had diminished and a trend of retraction of opportunities was being felt by many blacks.

Most of the black students came from the greater metropolitan area in which The University is located; only 10% came from distances of five hundred miles or more. An even smaller percentage (6.4%) came from small towns or rural areas. Similarly, most of the white students had grown up in metropolitan areas; however, a smaller percentage of them (28.5%) came from the metropolitan area surrounding The University. In fact, two-thirds of them came from distances of 200 miles or more. The fact that the majority of black students were from the local community, with a third of them living at home with parents, made little difference in their adjustment to The University.

The typical size family for black and white students was between four and five members. With respect to education and occupation of parents, significant differences were observed. Parents of white students were better educated, held professional positions and earned higher incomes than parents of black students. Most of the white fathers had at

least a college education and about one-half of them had more than an undergraduate education. Almost one-half of the white mothers were housewives; the remainder were in professional or clerical/sales occupations. The majority of white parents (77.7%) had incomes of more than \$15,000 annually; a negligible percentage earned less than \$3000. Slightly less than one-half of the black fathers did not complete high school; one-fourth of them were college graduates. A third of the fathers were in professional occupations; the remainder were in service, machine trades and construction occupations. Slightly more than one-fourth of the black mothers did not complete high school; about one-third of them were college graduates. With respect to occupations, one-third of them were in professional occupations while a similar percentage were housewives. Higher incomes, \$15,000 or more, were reported for one-third of the black families. Most of the black families earned more than \$9,000 annually while five percent earned less than \$3,000 annually.

There was a significant difference between the size of high school attended by black and white students. Black students more often had attended schools with less than 900 students (68.2%), whereas most white students attended schools with 900 or more students. The relatively small size of school attended by black students may reflect the prevalence of parochial high schools in the surrounding metropolitan area. Typically, these schools have smaller enrollments than public high schools.

Almost all white students had attended integrated, predominantly white high schools. About one-half of the black students had attended integrated, predominantly white high schools, while a little over one-third of them

attended segregated black schools. In light of these educational experiences, it was not surprising that most students--black and white--reported they had developed friendships with members of a different ethnic background.

The self-reported high school grades for the black students did not differ significantly from those reported by the white students: 69.8% of the black students had an average high school grade of B+ or better, compared to 76.2% of the white students. Considerably smaller percentages, 6.4% and 3.3%, respectively, reported average grade of C+ or below

For all students, the three most important factors influencing their decision to attend The University were (1) its high academic standards, (2) its degree programs, and (3) its prestige. Similarly, for all students, the least important factor was the racial composition of the student body. The geographic location of The University, its size and the social atmosphere in and around the campus were more salient attributes for white students than black. For over a third of the black students, availability of financial aid was an important factor.

Differences between black and white students were noted with respect to their general feelings and expectations about their collegiate experiences prior to enrolling. While both groups agreed that the opportunity to obtain a good education at a reputable institution was their primary concern, a significantly higher proportion of black students were concerned about the adequacy of their high school preparation. Further, almost one-fourth of both black and white students were worried about academic failure.

In this same vein, higher percentages of white students than black indicated that (1) they were looking forward to having roommates from a different ethnic background (21.8% vs. 13.3%); (2) the possibility of dating someone from a different ethnic background was appealing (22.1% vs. 17.7%). While about one-third of black and white students were concerned about being assimilated into the dominant culture of The University, a significantly higher percentage of black students (33.9%) than white (9%) were worried about racial discrimination at The University.

The University Environment

The University, founded around the middle of the nineteenth century, is private, non-sectarian, and, historically, oriented toward the city and state in which it is located. The city, one of the largest in the South, is noted for its glamour, its elegance, and its peccancy. Its coastal, low-land location gives it a subtropical climate. These geographical and cultural features of the city have inadvertently contributed to one characterization of The University as a "Suntan U."

At the time of the study (1974-75), The University's enrollment was about 4,000 students. Of this number, about one hundred and thirty-six (3%) were full-time, undergraduate black students (the target population). They were concentrated in three major areas: 23% were in the biological sciences; 15.8% in engineering; and 23.8% in the social sciences. (Other black students were thinly distributed in the graduate and professional programs).

An aura of exclusiveness surrounds The University. Its main campus

is located in one of the most aristocratic sections of the city. The stateliness of the neighborhood homes is reflected in part by marble steps, ornamental wrought iron fences and colossal white columns. Many of them are on private streets or "places," with heavy-locked chains across their entrances. Security guards are posted at some of the entrances. The University campus seems as exclusively guarded by its own ever-present security force as the private estates adjoining it. One observation, made early in the field work, noted:

The presence of security guards (on campus) was astounding. Everywhere I turned I was bumping into one. I began to feel like a prisoner . . . From what I understand, they are there for the purpose of keeping 'undersirables out.'

The campus is rather compact with seemingly little room for expansion. Its main entrance is on a fashionable street and The University buildings facing it resemble Gothic architectural style. Inside, the immediate atmosphere of the campus emanates from the arts and sciences facilities; progressing inward--about mid-campus--the atmosphere emanates from the sports and recreational facilities. The architectural styles change to more modern structures. The outer appearance of some of the buildings suggest maintenance problems and makes suspect the popular notion that The University is "well-heeled."

This image of The University's financial resources has given rise to a caricature of it as having posh dormitories occupied by students from wealthy families, each student having a vintage sports car. One University alumna recalled the rather self-conscious tradition of the women's college, relayed by a dean to the entering freshman class: "You

have beauty, brains, background, and money." The same tradition expected academic excellence from them.

Informality further characterizes much of the campus life style. During the summer, for example, students typically wore cut off blue jeans, T-shirts, and sandals. Bicycles were popular. Sprawled on the lawn were small groups of students, some studying, others relaxing. Still other groups were engaged in informal sports activities on the lawns. These same informal groupings observed on campus suggested an initial picture of ethnic relations. A young, black, male field staff observed:

Although there were many instances of blacks walking across campus with other blacks, there were instances when blacks and whites walked along together. More often, blacks walking with whites did not speak to me as opposed to blacks walking together.

In the cafeteria, there was a black cashier and a white one. Blacks could be seen at tables in close proximity to each other. However, there were instances where blacks and whites sat at the same table.

Campus life also reflected The University's involvement in community service programs. The communities and clientele served, however, were outside the surrounding neighborhood. Some programs served children whose presence on campus was obvious:

There were large numbers of children, black and white, in The University swimming pool under the supervision of an adult. Outside on the lawn, there were football clinics for elementary school boys, conducted by University students.

Social fraternities have been an important part of student life almost since the founding of The University. Fourteen national, white, social fraternities, primarily for undergraduates, were reported to be

active. Each had a house; most of them were concentrated along one side of the campus. Together, their presence exerted a strong social force upon male, white students to belong to "a small, intimate group." Collectively, the members of these organizations were referred to as "The Frats." Nine white sororities were also represented on campus; however, minimal data were collected on them. None of the black fraternities and sororities, however, were represented at The University.

Fraternities and sororities, with their overtones of secrecy and exclusiveness, contributed to the highly differentiated undergraduate student body. Athletes, variously esteemed as "The Jocks," gave rise to further differentiation. Unlike "The Frats," "The Jocks" were associated with popular competitive sports which permitted more egalitarian spectator participation. These sports events, arousing school spirit and support, could bring together the diverse elements of the campus. However, the clamor surrounding fraternity and sports activities drowned the muffled sounds surrounding student activities organized around the numerous honor societies, e.g., Phi Beta Kappa.

In some ways the structure of the campus community resembled that of the surrounding metropolitan area. The city is a complex society differentiated into distinctly mannered parts. It is this structure and the colorful social styles associated with it that account in part for the city's popularity as a tourist center. The ambience of the city is suggestive of the exclusiveness of aristocracy, on the one hand, and a carefree, participatory democracy on the other. More real than apparent however, are the city's disciplined atmospheres of scholarship, commerce

and industry, international trade, and ethnic and class discrimination--all defining features as well.

The University environment is a complex one. It emphasizes intellectual discipline, curiosity, originality and independence. At the same time, it emphasizes social activities, athletics, flexibility and non-conforming activities. In sum, it encourages a broad range of behaviors.

Black students, small in number, were conscious of the fact that they were in a white environment. Most of them were from the area and therefore were familiar with its cultural reflections on campus. Their familiarity, however, had been gained from a black perspective. Being from the area did not significantly ease their adjustment. The process of adjusting was similar in this respect to that of black students who came from outside the local area:

Adjusting to life on a white campus is one of the major problems I have encountered; also being a stranger to the area and not being able to relate to either white or black students. It's a problem I have not solved and may never.

Their perspectives were changing.

The University Experience

About a third of the black students at The University lived at home with their parents; the remainder lived in dormitories and other types of University student housing. Of those that lived on campus, most either had no roommate or had a black roommate. Since most of the white students were not from the immediate area, a larger percentage of them (77.9%) lived on campus. As was the case with black students, most white students living on campus either had no roommate or a white one.

More white students (75%) than black students (66%) reported that they had at least one friend at The University who was of an ethnic group different from their own. However, the quality of intimacy was lacking from these relationships and they, therefore, appeared strained.

The comments of several white students in this regard are cited:

Being from the North where the colleges are somewhat more liberal, I was surprised at the subtle racism I have found at The University. Many of the attitudes here seem to display much ignorance in regard to people of other races, countries and backgrounds.

I don't know enough blacks well here to be able to answer some questions on their opinions.

My close contact with blacks is limited, simply because of location, not prejudice. I'm not living in the vicinity of blacks in my hall nor do I have classroom seats near blacks. My knowledge of black attitudes on campus is, quite unfortunately, limited.

I know blacks that extend themselves in friendliness to me--but really the relationships reach no more than a good acquaintance.

And one white faculty awkwardly described the differential approach used with respect to black athletes at The University:

Whites generally are a little bit afraid to deal with blacks. They don't know quite where they stand. A black athletic coach I know would treat blacks in a way we couldn't possibly treat them. I think we will eventually get into a situation like that where we will treat all players exactly alike. I know that it is a bit difficult sometimes just because I think the whites don't understand the situation as well.

Many black students were hesitant in their relationships with whites because they expected them to be prejudiced. One student commented:

This school is definitely a challenge to black students, not because they are not academically inclined, or not intelligent, but because the white race continually tries

to put them down. . . . Racial prejudice is here--
of that there is no doubt. They don't want us here.
But, we will be here.

Prior interracial educational and social experiences of both student groups did not eliminate racial tensions: whites tended to be wary in their relationship with blacks and blacks tended to anticipate prejudice in their relationship with whites.

Based on the assumption that the organizations included in this study (The College, The University and The Navy) would reflect historical, traditional attitudes and perceptions about racial issues and concerns, students were asked the following types of questions:

I relate well to students of other ethnic backgrounds

Most blacks relate well to students of other ethnic
backgrounds

Most whites relate well to students of other backgrounds

The data revealed certain patterns of stereotypic perceptions that both black and white students had of each other and of themselves.

White students tended to agree that black students do not relate well to students of other ethnic backgrounds, that they prefer to relate socially to members of their own group. Further, slightly over one-half of them thought black students spend a lot of time socializing. On the whole, black students as individuals agreed that they related well to students of other ethnic backgrounds; however, less than one-half agreed that black students as a group related well to these students. Almost two-thirds of the black students agreed that as individuals they do prefer to be with other blacks socially; and, 37.1% agreed that as individuals they do spend a lot of time socializing. However, a higher percentage

agreed that black students as a group do spend a lot of time socializing (53.2%) and preferred to be with other blacks socially (72.6%).

As individuals, white students described themselves as relating well to students of other ethnic backgrounds and spending a lot of time socializing. The black students, however, saw them as not relating well to members of ethnic groups different from their own; they agreed that white students also spend a lot of time socializing.

Before addressing the discrepancies inherent in the above data, it should be borne in mind that black students constituted only about 3% of the undergraduate student enrollment. And, the black students were thinly distributed across disciplines. Furthermore, one-third of them did not live on campus. Therefore, the number of direct interactions between black and white students would be limited.

Black and white students based their impressions of each other on the more public, group behavior in the absence of sufficient opportunities to gain factual knowledge more often derived from frequent interactions of a more private, individual nature. One student observed:

The fact that I was married, commuting, and this is my home town area, lent itself to extra-curricular activities with previous friends and new friends who also live off campus. Being married eliminated dating. Engineering is a separate college and numbers 77 in undergraduate studies. This also lends itself to knowing each other very well but also, unfortunately, isolates us from the arts and sciences sector.

Black students could be observed coming together as a group for social purposes; so could the white students. But their coming together in each case did not mean that the association was necessarily an intimate one nor that it conveyed group cohesiveness. Lack of group

cohesiveness was a source of tension, especially among the black students. There were those who wanted to convey an image of black solidarity on campus while others defended excitedly their individuality. The former group tended to cling to the militant separatist stance of the Afro-American Student Association (ASA), characteristic of the 1960's. The latter group tended to identify with the ASA's current social emphasis and integrationist ideology. An expectation lingered that all black students should be members of the ASA. A black faculty member, who served as advisor to the organization, described its current status:

Every black student is a potential ASA member; however, the list of active members is approximately 16-20 black students. The activities of the organization are very similar to those of any other social organization on campus--intramural sports, parties, dances. A differentiation could be made in the selection of speakers sponsored by the group. These were blacks who could identify with the black experience.

Black students entering The University are from integrated high schools and have had the experience of dealing with white students and instructors. They appear to be more confident in themselves, their academic ability, and express no desire to separate themselves from The University community.

As stated earlier, The University encourages a broad range of behaviors. With respect to ethnic ideology, the black students constituted a diversified group. This attribute distinguished them from the black students who were at The University at the time it was integrated (1954) and during the 1960's. One black, female graduate ('74) described the earlier black student presence:

Most black students, including myself, were hung-up on being black. They forgot about being an individual. It was assumed that each black student was identified with

the Afro-American Student Association (ASA). The organization was very active until around 1970. It changed after 1970--students were from more diversified culture (black students). And by 1973-74, it was open to white students.

I tried to change during my junior year; I had missed a lot of social things. I tried to start relating to blacks on an individual basis rather than as a group.

My four years at The University weren't the most pleasant years of my life but, all things considered, it was a good experience.

One of the earlier black female graduates added historical depth in her description:

I knew most of the black students in my class prior to enrolling at The University. We were all classmates in high school (a parochial school). We were assigned to 'big sisters' who were upper-level students. They were volunteers who were to orient us to the campus. I didn't particularly like that.

Social life was almost nil. . . primarily because of the rigorous academic standards. I spent a great deal of time studying. However, formal social life, or the debutante set, was there and blacks and Jewish girls were excluded.

During my four years, I was not discriminated against openly; however, subtle overtures of discrimination were there.

A black, male law student (1965-68) had a similar account of social life:

Social life for two years was non-existent. I had no white friends. I was invited to join the law fraternity. . . .A faculty member told me that I was welcome to participate in all school sponsored activities but private affairs were different. I may be invited and I may not.

Contemporary social life on the campus was differentially viewed by the students. Black students were more likely to agree that

fraternities and sororities were overemphasized. Significantly, a higher percentage of black students (61.3%) than white (11.4%) agreed that there was very little social life on campus. With respect to extracurricular activities, 157 student organizations and programs were identified at The University. Of these, 28 (17.8%) had at least one black member. Black students were less likely than white students to agree that student participation in campus activities was minimal.

The black students were indeed involved in a wide range of campus organizations. The following organizations had at least 4% of the black student body as members, as reported by them on the questionnaire:

- Afro-American Student Association (ASA) (73%)
- Community Service Organization (22.2%)
- Pre-Medical Society (12.7%)
- Pre-Law Society (7.9%)
- Football Team (6.3%)
- ROTC (4.8%)

At least one black student held membership in such diverse groups as Alpha Lambda Delta Honor Society, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Phi Beta Kappa, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, University Business Society, and a Yoga Club.

Community service organizations were prominent on campus and included such groups as The Community Service Organization (CSO), Commodores (Navy ROTC service group), Spotlighters, and the Community Action Council. Of these, the CSO was most attractive to black students. It was described as "an organization that provides opportunity for work both in the university and the community." Its projects included high school tutoring, community center staff, athletic programs in various schools, clearing-house for placing students in volunteer jobs throughout the city, and an

Auto Complaint Center ("be a Ralph Nader"). The black students affiliated with CSO were occasionally labelled as "Oreos" by black students who did not identify with integrated student efforts. These black students, apparently undaunted, seemed dedicated, enthusiastic members of the organizations. It is significant to note that in ranking the opportunities on campus of which black students took advantage, "learning by doing" (56.6%) was second only to "financial assistance" (75%).

The allegiance of slightly more than one-half of the black students to a diversity of campus groups and organizations created considerable tension with their own ethnic group. This awareness was as great a source of anxiety, if not more so, as their anxiety about tensions between ethnic groups.

Academic Performance

It was cited earlier that the most important factor influencing the decision of all students to attend The University was its high academic standards. Both black and white students found their expectations of The University's academic reputation confirmed. At least three-fourths of all students agreed that The University had a good academic reputation, placed a strong emphasis on academic achievement, and its students had high academic ability. More black students, however, agreed with these statements than white students. As a corollary, half of all students agreed that University students valued hard work (academics).

When asked about their college grades, black students reported significantly lower grades than white students; 54% of the black students were performing at a C+ or lower level, compared to 15.7% of the white

students. While 72.7% of the white students reported an average grade of B or better, only 35% of the black students so reported. Overwhelmingly, black students (84.1%) agreed that their grades underrepresented their ability; only 9.5% agreed that they were fair indicators. On the other hand, 32% of the white students agreed their grades were fair indicators of their ability, but 63.1% felt they underrepresented their ability.

In order to understand students' perceptions of University faculty, students were asked to indicate on the questionnaire the extent to which they agreed with a series of statements about the faculty. On the whole, very few black (14.5%) and white (10.5%) students agreed that (1) faculty (and administration) felt paternalistic toward blacks, and (2) that they were reluctant to confront blacks about their work for fear of being labelled racist. To the statement that black students should be grateful for opportunities granted them at The University, a third of the black students and almost a fourth of the white students agreed. As if in confirmation of what they expected to find at The University, about a half of the black students agreed that faculty tended to notice deficiencies among black students in a way that they did not notice them among white students. At the same time, about half of the black students agreed that the faculty was very interested in the welfare of all students. With respect to developing individual contact with faculty members, a small percentage of black students (16.7%) took advantage of this opportunity.

Since the integration of The University in 1963, two issues related to academic performance of black students tended to recur: (1) whether or not to adjust admission policies; (2) whether or not to provide remedial education for students who do not have prerequisite academic skills. Black and white students differed significantly on these issues at the time of the study. Over half of the black students, as opposed to 18.2% of white students, agreed that preferential treatment should be given to students from low socioeconomic backgrounds with regard to admission policies. Similarly, more black students (61.9%) than white students (46.7%) agreed that remedial education should be provided for students not possessing requisite academic skills.

In the year following its integration, The University received a grant from a foundation for special training, advisory, or placement programs for minority students. Also, the grant made possible full financial support for almost every black student during this early period of integration. A tutoring program was inaugurated but no remedial classes were offered. At the same time, black students were advised to take lighter academic loads. Financial aid was available for them to attend summer school in addition to the regular term to ensure graduation within four years.

With respect to admission standards, The University took the position that:

Clearly, the conventional predictors have not proved a useful way to estimate whether Black students, and particularly Black males, will enjoy first-year success at The University.

In recognition of the limitation of the standard predictors, The University placed increased importance on the recommendation of high school counselors who "can often do better than can objective data in estimating whether a student has the kind of strength that is required if he is to succeed in this predominantly White environment." The Admissions Office announced that two-thirds of the black students entering The University had the necessary strengths which obviously were not measured primarily by SAT scores and school rank. Reliance on other factors became the policy.

Following the expiration of the foundation grant, the tutoring program continued in expanded form, utilizing University funds. In 1974, the Admissions Office recommended that, until more reliable predictors could be identified, programs and policies which decrease likelihood of failure should be continued and strengthened.

Equally aware were some of the black students, and the data suggest about half, that they were not performing up to their ability. And it did appear that almost half of them (45%) were seriously pursuing their academic courses of study. In this regard, an administrator described his perception of the importance of academic performance among the waves of black students who had enrolled at The University:

The first group of black students didn't lose sight of their professional goals. The second group was more concerned with black identity. The new group, the current group, is going back to more concern for professional goals.

While preoccupation with black identity was observable among some black students, it appeared less directed toward revolutionary ends and

more toward survival, social acceptance in the immediate environment so overwhelmingly white. One black, female leader, in describing her ambivalence about her lack of academic performance, explained:

I know I can do better. I know how to study and will plan my time to do my work. But there are so very few blacks here that the sight of another black person is a time to socialize. I can be on my way to class but if I meet another black, or run into a black group, I'll join them and never make it to class.

This sentiment can be seen as representative of those black students whose need to find social acceptance reflected itself in their lack of academic achievement. A contrasting sentiment can be seen as representative of those black students who, despairing of such acceptance, reflected itself in their rather pragmatic approach to academic performance. In this case, the remarks are those of a black, male leader pursuing a pre-law program:

By the time I was a freshman in college, I already knew what I was not interested in--like fraternities. I knew they were a clique. Now, I don't know about other black students, but I see The University as a pacifier for the white society. Sometimes I don't feel wanted at The University. Then I grow above that. You have to if you want to make it. As far as I'm concerned, black people still aren't wanted that much anywhere in this society. You have got to more or less just decide what you want to do. Accept The University for what you can get out of it and then get the hell out of here.

There was yet another group of black students who were achieving academically and who continued to seek, and in some instances, gain acceptance from the white student group. These were, in the main, those students involved in community service organizations.

While the black students' expectation of The University were confirmed with respect to its high academic standards, their expectation

of social acceptance was less so. Their adjustment to this reality took various forms, some of which interfered with their academic achievement.

Organizational Responses

The University apparently had not contemplated integration until around 1954. There were legal problems deriving from the stipulation of early benefactors limiting admission to white students only. Even in 1954, while the liberal character of a major university seems to have inclined some of the faculty to move speedily toward integration, other faculty and some administrators wanted to go slowly. By the spring of 1961, The University announced a policy decision that would admit qualified students "regardless of race or color if it were legally possible." However, to implement the policy, court action was necessary.

Occurring almost simultaneously with the newly announced policy, two black applicants applied for admission to two graduate programs. Whereas both applicants were found acceptable, they were both informed by University officials that legally their admission was impossible. Through their attorney, the two applicants filed suit in the fall of 1961 in Federal Court contending that The University was, in effect, a state institution and therefore subject to the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which prohibited discrimination by state and federal agencies.

In the wake of this judgment, The University was seen as a public, southern university resisting integration. The University requested and

received a stay of the decision and a new hearing. By the time of the second hearing, there had been a change in the judgeship in the Federal Court in which the case was being heard. A second decision, rendered in December, 1962, held that The University could voluntarily admit Negroes, since it would be unconstitutional to compel discrimination. The decision restored The University's private status and allowed it to act on its own volition. The University chose to open its doors to Negroes.

The long tradition of segregation at The University ended. The community responded with mixed reactions. A local newspaper carried an editorial lauding the soundness reflected in The University's position on the integration problem. On the other hand, a local citizen's council strongly objected, protesting that the decision was neither in the best interest of The University nor the community.

In January, 1963, in an atmosphere of community ambivalence, eight Negroes entered The University.

A decade later, one administrator could observe that organizational changes at The University since its integration were "nil." The statement referred to the fact that there was no one office or one person concerned with the problems of minority students. The number of black students had been increasing steadily, slowly. As cited earlier, a tutorial program was inaugurated for students seeking assistance; university resources were allocated to continue its operation. A program of recruitment of black athletes had been instituted. And, in response to the aggressive demands of black students during the late 1960's, The University designated a campus facility for a black cultural center.

However, current development plans called for its abolishment; its future location, as well as existence, was uncertain.

All positions of administrative importance were held by whites; only a few black faculty and staff members had been employed. The majority of black employees were grounds tenders, janitors, security guards and sanitation workers. As was the case with The College, described in the preceding section, none of the identified organizational responses to the increasing presence of black students at The University altered neither the internal nor external image of The University. Its structures and its ways of carrying out its functions remained intact.

While the initial "headaches" of integrating The University seemed to have been resolved, other problems held it "still standing in the wings." Among them were the rising costs associated with the maintenance of its athletic facilities; the infiltration of "vocationalism" among undergraduates which, if continued, would seriously threaten the graduate programs in arts and sciences; lack of unity among faculty and administrators; and a growing sense of apathy--all tending to sabotage The University's fight for its survival as a private institution of higher education.

CASE III: U. S. NAVAL BASE

Historical Sketch

The history of the black man's active service in the United States Armed Forces is as long as the history of the armed forces themselves. His history, however, has been blighted by long-standing practices of restrictions, segregation and discrimination. Prior to the Revolution, the colonies raised their own militias which were responsible for maintaining and defending their respective frontiers from invading enemies. According to Foner (1974), "every available man, slave and free black as well as white, was included in the militia." During this period, black soldiers were excluded until times of crisis and emergency. The pattern of selected exclusion persisted through colonial times, the American Revolution, and until the Civil War when "the Negro soldier was made a permanent part of the United States military establishment." Under strict policies of complete separation and segregation, Congress established four regular army black units in 1865 (Dalfiume, 1969).

Nelson (1951) cites the Navy's early practice of impressing Negroes into service, entering them on the ships' books "without distinction." The Navy desperately needed men and many Negroes possessed critical talents. In 1861, the Navy Department authorized Negro enlistments "when their services can be made useful under the same forms and regulations applying to other enlistments." Negroes served in various capacities and in all ratings. The practice of permitting mixed racial crews continued in the Navy until the eve of World War I, but not without

increasing outbursts of indignation from white officers and seamen. Reflecting the growing national attitude on racial subordination of the Negro, the Navy formulated a definite policy of segregation that limited Negro personnel to the messman branch. With this permanent encapsulation of the talents and resources of the Negro into one branch of the Navy, his

long and honorable history of bravery and herosim came to end coextensively with the blighting of his chances for equal participation . . . A man cannot show valor if he is not allowed to share the risk (Nelson, 1951).

During World War II, the Navy opened to blacks opportunities to enlist for general service, as opposed to limiting them to the role of mess attendants, but they were to be trained in segregated camps and schools. Furthermore, they were not to be placed on seagoing combat vessels. Foner (1974) summarizes the Navy's policy and practice of assigning

. . . almost all blacks to segregated jobs as construction workers or as laborers and stevedores at magazine, ammunition, and supply depots, where they worked in gangs handling the ammunition and loading and unloading ships largely under the supervision of white petty officers . . . One critic bitterly observed that blacks in the navy had swapped the waiter's apron for the stevedore's hook.

By 1943, the Navy had announced that a selected number of blacks would be trained as officers: staff officers were to be selected from civilian life, line officers from existing black enlisted personnel. The men selected were trained in segregated classes and the successful ones were assigned to harbor duties and to "unimportant jobs in the

recruit training section at Great Lakes," where they were forbidden to use the station's officers' club.

In 1944, the Secretary of Navy, aware of current constructive trends in race relations, began to institute changes respecting policies of segregation in the advanced training schools, and in assigning blacks to non-combat vessels. In keeping with policies and directives of the Navy Department, integration of all units began to take place in late 1945. And by June 1949, the Navy commissioned its first Negro graduate at Annapolis. Prior to this, only five Negroes had attended the Academy between the time of Reconstruction and 1936. None of them completed the program of training (Nelson, 1951).

World War II aroused a spirit of militancy in blacks over their centuries-long treatment as inferiors and especially the resulting drawbacks of legal and sanctioned segregation. Those who had withstood the horrors of war, fighting alongside whites continuing to deny them equal work, housing, and education, no longer feared white Americans. In the postwar period blacks were ready to fight yet another war to win full citizenship. They knew that earlier policies to integrate the armed forces were failing, that blacks were still being barred from certain job specialties, were being admitted into only a few of the many training courses and, in the Navy, that the practice of identifying menial jobs with blacks persisted.

Responding to the growing militancy of black protest that segregation was "the root cause for the difficulties experienced in training and utilization of Negro troops," the President announced that democratizing

the armed forces was to have his support.

By 1950, as the blatant forms of discrimination in the armed forces were being eradicated, more subtle, and no less immoral, forms were emerging. These were particularly noticeable during the escalation of the Vietnam War. Blacks were being drafted out of proportion to their numbers in the total population, were given fewer deferments, qualified less often as conscientious objectors and, once in the service, they were assigned to low-skill combat units. Too, blacks were under-represented on selective service boards (Foner, 1974). The perceptions of these inequities by blacks resulted frequently in open demonstrations.

During the time of the Vietnam War, the number of black servicemen--soldiers, sailors, marines--increased. Concurrently, black servicemen continued to display their intent to bring into focus and to eliminate all forms of racism and discrimination in the military services. Military authorities, recognizing their failure to act forthrightly on racial issues, put out directives and appointed commissions to ferret out vestiges of discrimination.

. . . But each time they reacted to a particular outburst or crisis . . . they found their measures frustrated by the failure of lower-level commanders to implement them save in the most mechanical fashion (Foner, 1974).

During the mid-1960s, black civil rights leaders joined the ranks of the antiwar movement, denouncing the Vietnam War. At the same time, there was a growing dissatisfaction across the nation with the unfairness of the Selective Service System. No young male could predict his future; the innovation of the lottery draft did tend to correct some of

the inequity but a universal program of conscription was still wanting.

Whether to end conscription and rely on an all-volunteer armed force was one of the most controversial issues of the decades between 1950 and 1970. In March 1969, the President appointed a Commission on an All-Volunteer Force to develop a plan for eliminating the draft and to move toward an all-volunteer force. The critical question was whether enough willing and able men and women could be found to volunteer so that the quality and effectiveness of the forces would not be compromised.

The period between 1970 and 1973 was a period of transition from conscription to an all-volunteer force. The country's involvement in Asia was diminishing leading to a reduction in conscripted manpower needs. However, to establish an effective all-volunteer armed force, an intensified recruitment program was launched to attract sufficient enlistments from the potential recruit population. The success of the program was such that the draft was discontinued in 1973, six months ahead of schedule.

The recruitment effort produced a significant increase in enlistments from minority groups. Whereas they had represented 14.4% of enlistments in 1970, they represented 19.8% in 1973. The proportion of true non-white volunteers--"those freely choosing military service and not influenced by the draft"--exceeded the national non-white average for all branches of the service, except the Navy. Women represented another source of human resources to meet military needs. Given the expanding role of women in the society and in the armed forces, it is expected that their enlistment will increase (Binkin and Johnston, 1973).

An all-volunteer force cannot ignore the potential manpower resources represented by minority groups and women and the possibility of using civilians in certain military jobs. Again, it appears that when manpower supply is critical, recruitment policies tend to be more flexible.

The appointment of Admiral Zumwalt as Chief of Naval Operations in May 1970 was to bring rapid and drastic changes in the way the Navy treated its uniformed men and women through his "programs for people" and his famous "Z-Grams." Among his efforts to make the Navy more attractive and more satisfying, he sought "to throw overboard once and for all the Navy's silent but real and persistent discrimination against minorities--not only blacks, the chief victims, but Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Chicanos, Filipinos, orientals, and, indeed, women as well-- . . . " (Zumwalt, 1976).

The observations at the U. S. Naval Base took place about two years after Admiral Zumwalt was relieved of his duties as Chief of Naval Operations in June 1974. The impact produced by his tenure in that office still produced reverberations observable on the Base.

As described in Appendix A, the navy did not approve the administration of the questionnaire to navy personnel. This decision came in the midst of field observations. The data that follow were derived from direct observations, interviews, and archival sources. Some of the findings, therefore, are more suggestive than conclusive.

The Environment

The Naval Base selected for this study is located near a small fishing village. The village is a part of a larger metropolitan area with a population slightly over one-half million. As a southern coastal city, with major port operations, including naval, it is a center of commerce, finance and manufacturing industries. From the downtown metropolitan center, the Naval Base lies about twenty-five miles to the south. It is located near the beach communities laid out along a stretch of the Ocean. The terrain is flat affording wide open spaces, many of which are dotted with palm trees and recreational areas. Much of community life is directed toward the Ocean and toward a transient tourist trade. Evidence of traditional patterns of racial segregation persisted in the areas seen, for example, in the informal designation of one of the beaches as "the black beach."

As one moves about within this twenty-five mile radius, one becomes conscious in a short time of the striking contrast existing between the urbanity of a metropolitan center, the casualness of a resort, vacation area and the procrustean formality of a naval base.

To gain admission to the Base is to get a foreshadowed glimpse of its organizational forces controlling and regulating almost every aspect of life within its boundaries. The main entrance is guarded at all times. To enter requires some official badge of recognition. For the visitor to enter the Naval Base, he must proceed from the main gate to the Security Office where he identifies himself, registers his vehicle and explains his mission. From these initial encounters with life on the

Base, formality, social control and accountability for one's identity and behavior looms large.

Once inside the U. S. Naval Base, formal naval routines dominate. These routines specify the manner in which the day will begin, the appropriate dress, the work to be done. There are regulations which specify the length of a person's haircut, the manner in which his personal items of belonging are to be kept, the maintenance of equipment and items of personal clothing, the style and format of all correspondence, the forms of address and respect, and others. Social relationships are regulated by rank which in turn dictates where you live, with whom you can fraternize and the degree of respect you can command from others.

Formality and social control probably inhere in the mission of military organizations such as the U. S. Navy. After the nation's unanticipated experience at Pearl Harbor in 1941, the military reflects perhaps more than other national institutions the need to be constantly capable of responding ably to sudden foreign invasions and to national and international states of emergency. For an organization to exist in a constant state of battle readiness so as to effectively counter unpredictable invaders, requires a high degree of social control of its members. Predictability of human behavior is critical to anticipating, planning and managing unpredictable events.

As a community, the Naval Base resembles in some ways other typical communities with attractive, well maintained residential sections, recreational facilities, athletic layouts, chapels, credit unions, shopping

facilities and "business" sections. But, unlike many communities, the Naval Base has as one of its boundaries the Ocean where ships--massive hunks of steel--stand like fortresses. This sight has the ability to stimulate romantic notions of the sea and man's struggle with forces of nature. At closer range, these same ships bear exotic, colorful signs and symbols--pennants, flags, emblems, Captain's lace--which prick the imagination into flights of fantasy.

Other realities of the community, however, dispel fantasies. The residential sections are laid out in a manner reflecting the stratifications within the naval organization: officers lived on streets all of which had names beginning with the letter "O" and enlisted personnel lived on streets all of which had names beginning with the letter "E." About a mile from the docks are located the Clubs--officers, chiefs, and enlisted--the commissary, a bowling alley, dispensary and two dormitories for single personnel. Although the clubs and dormitories continue the pattern of rank stratification, the commissary, exchange, bowling alley, dispensary and chapel serve to integrate the community, that is, these latter institutions serve individuals of all ranks and ethnic backgrounds.

The minority populations of The Naval Base were reportedly small; however, minorities could be observed participating as individuals and as groups at most base facilities. The pattern of ethnic participation displayed by individuals and by groups differed across settings. For example, at the bowling alley, children of different age groups could be seen bowling or engaged in informal socializing. Although some groups

were ethnically integrated, most black children and black adult groups tended to congregate on the right side of the alley and Filipinos on the left. A Chapel service revealed more integrated groupings: a black male served as one of the ushers; two of the eight members of the girls' choir were black; six of the eight members of the women's choir were black and two black youth served as altar boys.

Moving from shore to ship, the environment changes. Ships of war are highly technical environments requiring human adaptive responses characterized by precision. They are hazardous environments as reflected in ever-present warning signs boldly displayed, e.g., warnings of noise, high voltage, radiation, temperature--all requiring human responses characterized by vigilance. They are crowded environments, in berthing areas, passageways, work centers--all requiring human responses characterized by social and physical accommodations.

The social environment of the navy, as with all military organizations, is highly differentiated by ranks, each requiring prescribed forms of behavior. Too, much of the work life aboard ship is programmed, as reflected, for example, in schedules of "planned maintenance systems." Individual initiative is largely discouraged in the performance of these activities; however, recognition and repair of malfunctioning equipment invites initiative and ingenuity. To ensure high levels of efficiency and alertness, inspections of spaces, equipment and personnel are frequent.

The need for the individual to integrate these various dimensions of the shipboard environment so as to function efficiently creates

considerable anxiety. One manner of handling this anxiety has given rise to yet another dimension, described here as "navy banter." Navy banter appeared as a communication style, more readily observable among enlisted personnel than officers, that couches provocative realities of navy life in the playful, often witty, dialogue when discussing or dealing with them. All aspects of navy life and operations were susceptible to this form of treatment, ranging from "mickey mouse" regulations, quality of food, personality traits, to styles of job performance, etc. An example that occurred early in the field work involved a black Petty Officer being introduced to the research team by a white, superior officer. The officer introduced the Petty Officer as "our token black" to which the Petty Officer replied, "Yeah, I'm the fly in the butter-milk." This style of communication was common and often required, for the uninitiated, some translation or explanation.

With respect to use of leisure time, it appeared that most of the young, single enlisted personnel attached to ships in port made minimal use of base facilities, the EM and CPO clubs being exceptions. Popular off duty activities aboard ship included movies, playing cards, playing dominos and TV viewing. In many instances, these activities required little social interaction. Nevertheless, black enlisted personnel were observed more often engaged in playing cards and dominos. By contrast, base facilities that were most popular with ship personnel were those that offered short order menus and game rooms featuring pinball machines, billiards, ping pong, etc. In these activities, informal groupings were based more on interest than on ethnic background.

Aboard ship, it was the Mess Deck where black enlisted personnel tended to separate themselves from other ethnic groups. One black petty officer gave the following interpretation of this group behavior:

It is the one area on ship where all the blacks can be together and be themselves. They work in different areas and it feels good to see each other and talk and socialize during meal times.

However, in describing his own behavior with respect to where he sat, he added:

It all depends on what I have to talk about. If I want to discuss things pertaining to supervising, then I go to the E-6 Lounge. If I want to talk to white subordinates, I sit at a white table. When I want to socialize, I sit at a black table.

On one of the ships studied, music could be heard practically everywhere, emanating from the Intership Communication Shop. The selection of music to be piped through the IC system (similar to Music by Musak) could be a source of contention between ethnic groups. A black human relations officer--a petty officer--observed that most of the music heard aboard his ship is "shit-kicking," that is, country and western styles. He felt that more soul music should be played on the system, as did other blacks aboard, according to him. He made this recommendation to the ship's executive officer. However, his further analysis of this outward ethnic conflict around music preferences revealed additional insights:

Personally, I feel that some blacks like some of the country and western music but they do not say so in public. The same thing goes for a lot of whites on ship. They have soul music in their private collection but they would not admit that they like soul music in front of other whites or

blacks. It is not so much the music itself that the men dislike, it is what it stands for. It is a way of telling another ethnic group that the music belongs to you.

There is an attempt on the part of some blacks to make other blacks conform to their choice of music. This is one reason why most blacks will never admit that they like some of the country and western songs.

A similar contention existed with respect to choice of movies. Some black enlisted personnel thought that a more conscious effort should be made to show "black movies." Yet, some blacks minimized this need since many black movies are not good ones.

By contrast to the rather cramped living conditions aboard ship, and the lack of privacy, the dormitories ashore were comfortable places. Some enlisted personnel living in the dormitories preferred to remain on base during off duty time instead of going into the city: "Everything you need is here" (meaning the dormitories). Enlisted men assigned to ships in port also visited and, reportedly, enjoyed these living facilities.

One way of viewing the environment of The Naval Base is to see it as a combination of opposites. On the one hand, there is much that is known and certain with respect to outcomes of human behaviors, as seen, for example, in regulated performances. On the other hand, there is much that is unknown, uncertain with respect to outcomes of human behaviors, as seen, for example, in decisions reflected in duty station assignments, job placements, promotions, leave granting, to name a few. The tensions generated from these opposing forces created considerable anxiety which was further heightened by the technical, hazardous and life-threatening dimensions of the environment. And, the minority status itself was yet another source of anxiety.

Individual Responses

The tensions identified in the previous section gave rise to a range of adaptive patterns. Although the data undergirding this section were limited and uneven, they were sufficient to discern at least four groups representing structural elements within the organizations. Their patterns of adjustment, described below, are captured in the titles given each group: The Committed, The Ambivalents, The Uncommitted and The Mavericks.

THE COMMITTED

Subject #1: A female, officer, married, from North Carolina, and Caucasian.

Financial benefits attracted the Lieutenant to the Navy. Her base pay in the Navy is \$1162 per month, with \$200 per month for BAQ. With a bachelor's degree, there are few jobs in the civilian world that pay as well.

She has been in the Navy four and one-half years, having had two previous assignments. After graduating from college, she went to Officer's Candidate School. She began with a two-year enlistment; however, at the end of that period, she decided to stay in the Navy. She plans to make the Navy a career. She sees no possibility of quitting it.

According to the Lieutenant, the Navy has been attempting to bring about some reforms. Earlier, women could be married while in the Navy but could not have children. However, three years ago, that restriction was lifted. Also, when both husband and wife were in the Navy, only the husband was eligible for an allowance. About two years ago, that restriction was eliminated. With respect to her maternity leave, time granted will depend on a doctor's advice. Previously, women were granted four weeks prior to delivery and six weeks after. Now, there is no "before" leave. The attending physician must recommend how long the mother will need to recuperate after delivery.

In her opinion, the Navy is definitely anti-feminine. As background, she recalled that around World War II, the highest rank possible for WAVES to obtain was Lieutenant. It was also a rule that no WAVE could give instructions to a male. And, in 1971, Officer

Candidate Schools were segregated. Women and men ate in the same dining hall, but that was it! They received different instructions. These schools were integrated around 1973.

Discrimination against women takes various forms. Promotion boards for women are different from those for men because of one factor: women do not serve aboard ships. By contrast, examinations for promotion for enlisted personnel are the same even though enlisted women do not serve aboard ships. Too, there are traditional duties which officers take turns carrying out, e.g., Command Duty Officer and Officer of the Day, which in some commands are not assigned to women. Women officers at The Naval Base do not serve as Officer of the Day. It is thought to be too dangerous for women to be on duty after hours--"she might be raped." When the decision was made that women would be assigned to tug boats, there was much resistance expressed throughout The Naval Base. "Over my dead body" was the most popular response to the decision. Other forms of discrimination are felt, but are difficult to verbalize. One way of dealing with them, according to the Lieutenant is: "don't make waves."

The Lieutenant and her husband live off base. They do not have many friends in the community. Most of the people in their neighborhood are older than they.

Subject #2: A male, officer, married, from New York, and Caucasian.

This Lieutenant decided to enlist in the Navy because he felt it would be interesting. The job would be difficult but enhancing: it would not be a sit-down job. The Navy would offer him a chance to travel, and he would be assuming great responsibilities. He has been in the Navy just over 4 years, and has 60 men working under him.

The Lieutenant has been married for only a short while, having met his wife when he was assigned to The Naval Base. They are expecting their first baby this year, and though being away from home is difficult for his wife, she accepts what his job entails. They live off base in a neighborhood where there are mostly navy families. He does not have many civilian friends, but his wife does, since she comes in contact with them in the community.

He likes his work and plans to make a career of the Navy.

Subject #3: A male, enlisted (E-6), married with three children, from Georgia, and Caucasian.

This 1st Class Petty Officer has been in the Navy for almost 20 years. He first entered the Navy in 1956. Prior to his enlist-

ment, he was working in a textile mill to support his education. He worked in the mill from 11:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. and went to school from 8:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. It was difficult for him to keep up with his studies while he was working. He decided then to go into the military where he could at least get some education and learn some trade. He didn't want to go into the Army because he "hated walking, and he didn't like the Air Force because he "didn't like to fly"--so he joined the Navy. Besides, he likes fishing, scuba diving, and water skiing. He has enjoyed being in the Navy tremendously. He has been all over the world; he has had a chance to learn about submarines, air conditioning, hydraulics, generators, diesel auxiliary, auxiliary steam, and mess management.

He's had a number of challenges in the Navy and he has liked them. His first real challenge was qualifying in Submarines. This was in 1965, and he was 25 years old. He worked hard and his own philosophy of "anything that I set my mind to, I can do," helped. He came out 31st in a class of 112.

The second real challenge was when he attended a Vietnamese school to learn Vietnamese. This was in the late sixties during the Vietnam war.

Managing the Officers' Club at one time had also been a challenge.

What he likes most about the Navy is the "challenge of knowing that no two days will be alike." What he dislikes most is the WASTE!--waste of manpower, waste of food and waste of equipment. So many men are mismatched in their work assignments.

He plans to attend college after retiring. The Petty Officer finds it is extremely difficult to make friends in the Navy--"You lose them as soon as you make them." He admits he has been a loner all his life.

Subject #4: A male, enlisted (E-7) Mess Specialist (M.S.), married, from Arkansas, and Caucasian.

This M.S. has been with the Navy for 16 years, and he has 4 more years to serve before retirement. He is 32 now, having joined the Navy at age 16, and is quite proud of the fact that he will retire at the young age of 36, while civilians retire at age 65.

He did not finish high school, and there were absolutely no opportunities in his home town. For him, the Navy was the best place. Most of his friends from his young days are still struggling in that little town. The Navy provides him with great opportunities. It is

the best of the military: it sends you to school, it trains you, and it gives you good pay. Moreover, he loves to travel, he loves the sea, and he loves the Navy.

He has a 9 year old daughter, and finds that the life of a Navy man makes it difficult for the family.

Subject #5: A male, enlisted (E-6), Machinist Mate (M.M.), married, and Afro-American.

This M.M., age 32, has been in the Navy 10 years. Initially, he enlisted for four years. After his initial enlistment, he left the Navy and attended a junior college. He couldn't make it at college, so he went to mortuary school for a while. That didn't work out either, so he decided to become a mechanic. He likes working with cars. For a while, he thought about working as a postman, but decided to reenlist in the Navy. His philosophy at the time was "For a man who knows not where he is going, any road will carry him there." After completing his reenlistment tour of three years, he decided to make the Navy his career.

He adheres to the philosophy that "The needs of the Navy, and not the individual, come first." He recognizes that adherence to such a philosophy by new recruits is difficult. They get frustrated when they run into this attitude. It makes them feel nobody cares about them as people. However, he thinks that black people from the South adapt better to the military situation than those from the North. The southern black is used to being in an environment where whites are in control. In the South, black people know where they stand. The situation is less clear in the North.

He works in the Engineering Department with 15 men, mostly white, under his immediate supervision. In his position as a petty officer first class, he has minimum problems supervising whites. He would rather supervise whites than blacks. Many times the black men tend to foot-drag and feel that they should be given a break by a black petty officer. A black petty officer is expected not to report other blacks. When he pushes black men to get some work done, their typical response is, "Give me a break, give me a break!" These same black men would not respond in that way to a white petty officer. They would get the work done.

When he shares his philosophies, e.g. "the Navy comes first," with black enlisted men, they think and feel he is taking the Navy's side and that makes him an "Uncle Tom." He admits that, from their point of view, perhaps he is. He is aware that he tries to understand what the Navy is all about and work with that. In his own way, he tries to give blacks a break and adds, "I will always try, but the trouble is most times the blacks don't realize this." In his position, he cannot tell them he is giving them a break because he is

supposed to be impartial. He is aware that whites also look out for their own kind. He says: "It's funny. When the Navy talks about Equal Opportunity, how can equal opportunity exist when you have different racial groups?"

THE AMBIVALENTS

Subject #6: A male, enlisted Coxswain, married, and from Texas, and Caucasian.

This Coxswain is in charge of two motorwale boats which he paints and keeps in shape. The boats are used to get people who have fallen overboard.

He loves swimming, thunderstorms and hurricanes. All ships have to be out at sea during hurricanes, and that is when he loves being on a ship best. He loves the rocking and tossing of a ship during thunderstorms.

It is a tradition in his family to go to the Navy. His father was also a coxswain in the Navy, and most of his cousins are now in the Navy. He was just a year old when his father died. He graduated from high school in 1972 and married the same year. He joined the Navy in 1973.

The Coxswain's wife and son are in Austin, his home town. It hurts him to be away from his family, he says. He has been assigned to his ship for 1½ years, and does not plan to reenlist. He loves being on a ship, but because his family is too important to him he doesn't want to be away from them. He wants to watch his son grow up. Life on a Tender would be better, because that would mean he could go home almost every evening.

Subject #7: A male, enlisted (E-4) Gunner's Mate (G.M.) from Minnesota, and Caucasian.

This G.M. joined the Navy for a change of scenery and to travel; however, he wouldn't advise his friends to join. He went to boot camp at Great Lakes. Before entering the Navy, he was an accountant for his uncle's firm. When he enlisted, he had hoped to be a disbursing clerk, but the Navy decided that he would be a gunner's mate. Although he is a pacifist, he said that he only has to make two "test fires" per year.

His leading petty officer is a lifer and was, as a result, difficult to get along with.

The G.M.'s family has quite a military history. His father was in the Navy. Two of his brothers served in the Vietnam war--one in the

Marines, the other in the Navy. Only recently he learned that one of his younger brothers had joined the Navy. He has a teenage brother who may eventually join the Navy too.

Subject #8: A male, enlisted (E-4) Machinist Mate (M.M.), single, from North Carolina, and Caucasian.

This M.M. has been in the Navy for a year and two months. "It's not what I thought it would be. I didn't think I would be asked to work sixteen hours a day or on weekends, and I am quite disappointed." He went to boot camp at Orlando. He was put in the engineering department not by choice, and that is what disturbs him. The first and only member of his family to be in any branch of the military, he joined the Navy because he did not like school and dropped out. He thought the Navy would make a man of him, so he signed up about four or five months after dropping out of school.

The M.M. has found the Navy to be quite rigid because one has to follow orders all the time. However, he knows that is the only way a military organization can operate. He dislikes the lack of space and privacy. The whole ship is crammed.

His mother had both her legs amputated and he wants to be transferred to South Carolina to be near her. Nobody cares, and that hurts. He feels like a robot going through the motions of working, but his heart is not in it. He knows that his performance has gone down about 50%.

He has a number of friends on ship. They go out drinking together, and some of them even go with him on weekends to South Carolina.

Subject #9: A female, enlisted (E-4) WAVE, single, from Kansas, and Caucasian.

This 3d Class Petty Officer joined the Navy after high school because she wanted "to be different." This had been her ambition since her freshman year in high school, but no one believed she was serious. It took her a year to convince her parents to allow her to enlist. She has a sister who tried to enlist, but was unsuccessful. Her brother is in the Air Force.

Her assignment on a tug boat is not woman's work; however, having grown up on a farm in Kansas, she was accustomed to doing hard work. She does enjoy her work, and has a strong sense of ownership toward the tug boat: "You know, it's really my boat."

Although she is expected to do the work of a man, she is still a woman. She always wears make-up--not only because it is a

part of being a woman, but because her skin gets leathery if she doesn't. She seemed quite concerned that the muscles in her back and arms were becoming as developed as a man's.

THE UNCOMMITTED

Subject #10: A female, enlisted (E-3) married, from Alabama, and Afro-American.

The Seaman joined the Navy because jobs were scarce. She had expected her first assignment to be in an office; however, she was assigned to a tug boat, where she has been for the past five months. The assignment is a bit of a strain on her. Women are not meant for the type of work required on the tug. Working with men, however, does not bother her at all.

She does not plan to make the Navy a career; however, she hopes to obtain as much schooling in the Navy as she can.

THE MAVERICKS

This group consisted mainly of young seamen--largely new recruits--who were frequently described by Navy personnel as "fuck-ups," i.e., they were frequently "put on report" by their superiors for such offenses as use of marijuana, unauthorized absences, failure to obey a direct order, and disrespectful behavior. By their peers, they were labelled "Scrounge." They wore long hair and were careless in their personal hygiene and attire--both military and civilian. The members came from all ethnic groups.

With the limitations of the data in mind, there is evidence that the observed adaptive patterns do create tensions within and between groups. Motivations for enlisting in the Navy varied across groups, reflecting personality variables as well as societal conditions, e.g., economic and employment conditions. Also, age and length of time in the Navy suggest developmental processes that may have influenced adaptive responses. For example, the adaptive pattern of young recruits, including The Mavericks, may be

reflections of age rather than internal organizational conditions.

The Committed seem to be those individuals who have been in the Navy long enough to identify with organizational goals and procedures; however, as young recruits, some may well have been mavericks. Finally, the data begin to suggest that ambivalent feelings toward the Navy are characteristic of enlistees during the early stages of their tenure in military service.

Organizational Responses

One dimension along which organizations can be distinguished is the degree of openness they exhibit. Organizational openness refers to the boundary conditions which separate the organization from the social environment surrounding it. These boundary conditions may be either physical or psychological in nature. As a formal organization, it is assumed here that the purpose of the Navy's concern with its boundary maintenance is to insure the integrity of its defense mission. However, many of the practices undergirding the achievement of its goal run counter to civilian conduct.

Most military installations have physical barriers which clearly outline their boundaries. The maintenance of their psychological barriers is less obvious. However, one of the traditional means by which, in this case, the Navy has maintained psychological separation of its members from the larger social environment has been its policy requiring naval personnel to wear the navy uniform and insignias, and to exhibit distinctive patterns of grooming and forms of behavior, both on and off duty.

With the appointment of Admiral Zumwalt as Chief of Naval Operations in June, 1970, many of the Navy's traditional policies and practices were altered and new ones created.

On the one hand, the new policies made the Navy a more open organization and therefore more vulnerable to the impact of national trends and social forces emanating outside the organization. On the other hand, when implemented, the same policies tended to produce defensive reactions within the organization which served to pull it in the direction of its former state of affairs.

At the time of the study, the most visible structural form reflecting the process of implementing these new policies at The Naval Base was the Human Goals Department (hereafter referred to as HGD).

According to Admiral Zumwalt, there were four things the Navy could do to make the service more attractive and more satisfying:

One was to reexamine the regulations and practices dealing with personal behavior--dress, grooming, and so forth--with a view to bringing them into line with the customs and tastes of the seventies.

A second was to develop operational schedules, job rotation systems, and homeporting facilities that would lighten what always has been the heaviest burden of naval service, long separations from family.

The third was to find ways to give bright and talented young men and women more responsibility and greater opportunity for advancement than they were getting, to increase "job satisfaction" . . .

The fourth, and most important, was to throw overboard once and for all the Navy's silent but real and persistent discrimination against minorities--not only blacks, the chief victims, but Puerto

Ricans, American Indians, Chicanos, Filipinos, orientals, and indeed, women as well--in recruiting, in training, in job assignment, in promotion, even, I was to learn, in stocking commissaries and ship's stores. (Zumwalt, 1976)

The overall mission of the HGD included the following program emphases:

- To deal with problems of discrimination, both race and sex.
- To resolve grievances, especially in cases of deviations because of incompetence if discrimination was claimed--and, similarly if Commanding Officers held back recommendations for promotions.
- "To make people feel good about what they do and about themselves," i.e., to heighten the self-esteem, especially of enlisted men.
- To train middle managers (i.e., Chief Petty Officers) in sophisticated methods of motivating people.
- To provide education about drug and alcohol abuse.

The Department was characterized by a laid back, informal atmosphere. Staffing of the HGD was achieved through voluntary assignments. Most of the staff, at the time of the study, were leaving the Department because this kind of duty was perceived as being "a dead end for career advancement."

When HGD was first initiated, it was swamped with cases of racism. Fewer incidents were being reported at this time because "things were now under control." The basis for such an assessment of race relations might have been derived from practices described by one white officer:

I would be willing to bet a nickle that most white officers are afraid to reprimand the black seaman because of fear of being called racist. They fear it so much because if the incident is proven or reported as 'prejudice,' he may be demoted.

Another basis for assessing race relations in the Navy was seen in the following observation made by an officer:

Racial tensions are less because there is nothing major happening in society racially that would bring about an uproar today. If there were, there'd be racial tensions!'

There was widespread resistance to the HGD's programs at all levels, particularly by those in positions of command. Operating the program was frustrating from a staff point of view because of the indifference displayed by immediate superiors in their handling of complaints. From the seaman's point of view, the program was ineffective because officers tended to cleverly turn problems of discrimination into military problems. From yet another point of view, the HGD's staff had lost some of their credibility by over-identifying with any case of discrimination brought to their attention. In some instances, the staff had not done their home work; rather, had merely accepted the complainant's story as a matter of fact. Subsequent investigations would occasionally reveal that the complainant had not told the whole story or had cried "discrimination" to cover up some personal shortcoming (often associated with job expectations).

The education phase of the HGD program seemingly consisted of sensitivity training sessions and lectures. The latter included lectures in which concepts derived from Maslow's theory of self-actualization were presented to middle managers, e.g., Chief Petty Officers.

In general, it did appear that, from an administrative point of view, elimination of discrimination was a fait accompli. Drug and alcohol

abuse were being controlled through programs of rehabilitation. The issue that was consuming considerable time and energies was the rights of homosexuals in the Navy.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The Organizational Level

The study was conducted during a post-social revolutionary period. As open systems, the organizations included in the study-- The College, The University, The Navy--were responsive to the forces operating in the society. Their responsiveness was dictated, however, by the strength of force inherent in their historical values and commitments in the face of new or emerging values. Tensions existed within the organizations generated by adherence to old values while simultaneously evincing compliance with new ones which had been legislated rather than self-initiated.

While the number of black recruits to the organizations was increasing, the number was insignificant to effect any structural changes. The kind of changes their presence provoked were peripheral: ethnic courses were added to the curriculum; ethnic events were included in extra-curricular activities; Afro hair styles were permitted in the Navy. Original value structures of the organizations, that is, those existing prior to changes in admission and recruitment practices, were essentially intact: blacks were not widely represented among the faculty and among the higher military ranks and financial resources were still basically allocated to traditional programs.

The organizations responded to the social ferment and legislative

reforms with respect to civil rights during the revolutionary period of the 1960s, by admitting blacks in increasing, but limited numbers. During the post-revolutionary period of the 1970s, the organizations, having demonstrated a modicum of compliance with civil rights legislation, began to reassert their historical images and to reinstitute their traditional values, only slightly modified by enlightenment gained during the 1960s. The organizations' concern about the consequences of increasing numbers of blacks being inducted into the systems had given way to more contemporary issues currently considered essential to their survival.

Group Level

The adaptive patterns of blacks as an ethnic group were influenced by three controlling variables: group size, perceived oppressiveness of the organization and prevailing conditions in the society.

During the period of social revolution of the 1960s, the number of blacks in the organizations was very small; however, together, they formed a rather tight knit group. In response to the commonly experienced oppressive atmosphere of the organization, the experience served as a rallying point around which blacks could coalesce. Confrontations with the organizations, in which demands for social change were voiced, were frequent. It was these demands which brought about many of the organizational changes referred to above.

The rhetoric of the vocal black militants emphasized achieving desirable social ends and these ends had been defined by the times. The

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PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION: THE IMPAC--ETC(U)

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concerns of the group were directed toward maintaining ethnic solidarity. The acquisition of socio-emotional competencies among members to achieve solidarity was rewarded.

In the 1970s, the peak of the social revolution had been reached. At the same time, the size of the black group in the organizations had increased with an accompanying diversity of outlooks and philosophies among its members. Efforts to maintain ethnic identity through group behaviors at this time could, at best, effect "black presence." And black presence was manifest as a group phenomenon in informal groupings in which ethnic behaviors and preferences could find free expression. With the greater diversity of individual types within the ranks of the black group, efforts to effect social change through group action within the organizations were frustrated. Increasingly, acquisition of instrumental competencies, i.e., academic achievement and job proficiency, was looming larger than group solidarity.

Individual Level

It is at the individual level that the range and variation of adaptive patterns among blacks can be seen most clearly. The data support the notions advanced by Green (1970) when she describes the diversity found in the black community:

No culture is static; the various parts may shift in response to different internal as well as external stimuli. In addition, it is seldom emphasized that any given individual is made up of unnumerable 'social parts' and that the number and complexity of the possible parts increase as the society in which the person operates becomes more complex . . .

She uses the concept of 'situation changes' to describe changes which result from an individual's participation in differing social systems. These changes take place to allow alternative ways for individuals to operate effectively in a number of different situations.

From the perspective of the individual, expression of ethnicity varied across two kinds of settings: public settings and private settings. In public settings blacks would often come together to achieve desirable group goals. In private settings, such as a classroom, a work center or a meeting of an honor society, individual blacks would participate to meet individual needs and to satisfy individual interests.

Individual adaptive patterns in the organizations studied gave rise to the following types:

"The Super Blacks"

These were individuals preoccupied with maintaining ethnic identity.

"The Electics"

These were individuals who could move in and out of various groups and settings with some degree of comfort.

"The Organization People"

These were individuals preoccupied with achievement of organizational goals through conforming behavior.

"The Conflicted"

These were individuals torn between identification with ethnic values and organizational values.

"The Loners"

These were individuals who tended to withdraw from most group affiliations to reflect on self.

The types emerged and were labeled from the data obtained at The College and The University which were the initial field work sites. Similar types emerged from the data obtained at The Naval Base; however, because of the limitations of the data, the types were labeled differently.

The adaptive patterns of blacks in the three predominantly white organizations studied reflect, in an overriding way, their diminished hopes for a better social world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The study had as its primary objective to understand the nature of the impact--both on the individual and the organization--of an increasing number of minorities, particularly blacks, entering traditionally and predominantly white formal organizations. It was assumed that social forces emanating from within these organizations would effect changes in the behaviors of the black minority group and, likewise, the presence of the black minority group would create social forces that would effect changes in the organizations. The aims of the study were to identify and describe significant social and cultural forces operating within a sample of three formal and predominantly white organizations; to describe and analyze the effects of these forces on the minority group and the organizations; to gather descriptive data on the nature and types of conflicts and points of cultural tension between blacks and the organizations; and to describe and analyze individual, groups and organizational patterns of adaptation resulting from the increased black population.

An exploratory, field research design was chosen to study these processes. The choice was dictated by several factors. The events were occurring during a period of continued rapid social change and the relevant variables and the relationships between them had not been adequately established empirically. Too, since the study was concerned with processes of sociocultural change, it was necessary to obtain background or baseline data on each of the organizations as well as data on current conditions, on-going activities, and larger societal events

influencing them. It was essential, therefore, to gather data, both qualitative and quantitative, from a wide variety of sources. In recognition of the complex nature of the interrelationships existing between the individual, the ethnic group affiliation, the situational field and the broader social context, a flexible design was needed. Hence, an exploratory design permitting a multifaceted approach appeared appropriate, as opposed to a design more characteristic of systematic testing of hypotheses, to yield or at least approximate a contextual or holistic understanding of the phenomena under study.

All sites were selected within budgetary constraints. In addition, the following bases were used in selecting the specific organizations for study. The two institutions of higher education were located in distinctly different cultural areas within the Deep South where current efforts to produce racial integration continued to evoke disquieting community responses. They also varied in size, type of clientele served, and historical stances with respect to interracial education. One represented an organization with a long tradition of interracial education, the other a short history of integration.

The Navy can be seen as an organization with a tradition of segregation and discrimination. The Naval Base was selected because it was thought to be representative of naval bases with a variety of sea and shore operations and should have, therefore, a representative sample of navy personnel.

Each institution was compared with itself rather than in relation

to each other but not to the exclusion of observed differences and similarities.

Official Entry into the Organizations

Negotiations to conduct the research at The College were effected through the Office of the Director of Institutional Research who supported the project and recommended its approval to the President of The College. Administrative approval was given by the President in a letter dated March 5, 1974.

The research team worked out of the Director's office; all resources of this office were made available to the team throughout the period of field work. The Director planned and facilitated all introductory interviews with faculty, staff and administrators and usually accompanied the team on initial visits. Through him, the team was introduced to many elements of The College's history, its physical layout and campus boundaries and its immediate surrounding community.

Similarly, entry was effected through correspondence with the Office of the Provost at The University. In a letter from the Provost, dated April 3, 1974, administrative approval was given to conduct the research. The Provost's office facilitated the scheduling of initial interviews with selected faculty and administrators in much the same manner as The College.

At the Naval Base, initial exploratory contacts were made by telephone to the Office of the Base Commander who in turn referred the request to the Human Awareness Officer. On July 9, 1975, a letter from the Division of Behavioral Science Research was sent to the Commanding

Officer requesting official permission to conduct the research project at the Base. A letter from the Acting Commanding Officer, dated July 17, 1975, gave permission to conduct the research and offered the assistance of the Base's Human Awareness Officer. On July 18, 1975, a letter requesting the appointment of a liaison officer between the Fleet and the research staff was sent to the Commanding Officer, Naval Surface Forces, U. S. Atlantic Fleet, Norfolk, Virginia. In a letter dated August 1, 1975, the Chief of Staff responded authorizing the appointment of the Warrant Officer in charge of the Human Goals Program at the Base as the liaison officer to the project.

On the initial field visit to the Naval Base, the research team was informed that an order had been received to halt the initiation of the research project until its official endorsement could be verified and communicated to and among the higher levels of command involving the Office of Naval Research and the Atlantic Fleet. After a brief but distressing wait, the research team was given permission to proceed.

Field Trips

During the first year (1974-75), a total of 10 field trips were made to the institutions of higher education resulting in approximately 1,672 hours or 223 field days.* Seven trips were made to the Naval Base resulting in approximately 645 hours or 86 field days.

Field work had to be suspended at the Naval Base between December 1975 and February 1976 while the research contract was being renegotiated.

*7.5 hours = One day

This interruption in field contacts both disrupted the continuity of field relationships and delayed completion of field observations as scheduled.

Methods of Data Collection

Four approaches were used to collect the data: investigation of documents and archival materials, direct observations, interviews, and questionnaires.

There were some difficulties with respect to the first three approaches. The research staff, for example, did not have access to some of the needed materials. The basic difficulty, though, involved the reliability and validity of the data collected from these sources. Interviews relied on personal views, opinions, and remembrances of individuals thereby giving rise to possibilities of distortions and faulty memories. Similarly, the possibility of distortion in documents and individual bias in newspaper editorials also existed. To increase reliability, data from documents, observations and interviews with various informants were compared with each other to provide cross and internal checks on the data. Each approach is discussed in the following sections.

A. Documents, Archival and Published Materials

Records and documents were used as important sources of data in establishing baseline information on each of the organizational settings. The following documents containing information on a wide range of issues and research questions were reviewed:

Institutions of Higher Education

- Student newspapers, and calendar of activities
- College calendars, newspapers, brochures and bulletins
- Community newspapers, community histories, and brochures
- College histories, alumni bulletin, and studies conducted on the college
- Minutes of faculty meetings
- Black student organizations' brochures, magazines and other documents
- Student, faculty and staff directories

The Naval Base

- Organizational charts for ships and base
- Photographs of ships and Base
- Navy histories
- Recruitment literature
- Literature on Navy wives
- Base newspaper
- List of personnel on ships and tugboats

B. Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with selected members of the target populations--current and former students, faculty, staff and administrators at the institution, and, officers, enlisted men and women, and civilians at the Naval Base.

In selecting members to be interviewed, there was less concern given to achieving a random representative sample than was given to locating what has been termed "strategic informants" (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968); i.e., those who either become the researcher's eyes and ears in indirect observations or those who were in positions to have knowledge, experience or valuable perspectives on the problem. Interviews were also conducted with other informants who did not hold any unique positions within the organizations. Most of the informants suggested other informants.

Interviews were essentially unstructured thereby permitting

informants to introduce spontaneously topics which they perceived as relevant to the problem. In the college settings, interviews were tape recorded to ensure accuracy and detail. If informants opposed being taped, no tape recorder was used. The tape recorder was not used at the Naval Base. In all settings, the research staff essentially relied on detailed field notes which were written up as soon as possible after all interviews and observations.

1. Students

Interviews were sought first with black and white student leaders; that is, those who held offices in various campus organizations. Other students were identified and interviewed on an informal basis. A total of 31 students were interviewed (Table A-1). Interviews and planned observations were frequently done in places where students usually congregated--cafeterias, dormitories, athletic events, and informal parties.

2. Faculty, Staff, and Administrators

From this group, informants were selected along the following dimensions: age, sex, race, length of tenure, knowledge about the experiences of black students, and frequency of contact with students in both academic and non-academic settings.

A total of 65 informants, including all black professionals, were interviewed (See Table A-2).

3. Former Students, Faculty, Staff and Administrators

At The University, four black students who had attended The University shortly after its integration were located and interviewed

TABLE A-1

CURRENT STUDENT INFORMANTS

	The College	The University	
Black Students	9	9	18
White Students	6	7	13
TOTAL	15	16	31

TABLE A-2

CURRENT FACULTY/STAFF/ADMINISTRATOR INFORMANTS

	The College	The University*	
Black Staff/ Administrators	4	-	4
Black Faculty	3	4	7
White Staff/ Administrators	17	22	39
White Faculty	5	11	16
TOTAL	29	36	65

*One staff member was East Indian.

at an informal dinner. Similarly, at The College, six black students, four white students and five faculty and staff members, all of whom had been affiliated with The College shortly after it reopened its doors to blacks, were located and interviewed.

4. Officers at the Naval Base

Thirteen (44.8%) of the officers aboard the auxiliary repair ship and six (28.6%) of the officers aboard the destroyer were interviewed either formally (by appointment) or informally at their place of work. Nine officers assigned to base duties, and the only female officer on the Base were also interviewed. Ranks of the officers ranged from ensign to captains (Tables A-3 and A-4).

5. Enlisted Personnel

Most of the data came from enlisted personnel aboard the two ships. Sixteen of the 38 enlisted black men on the auxiliary repair ship, and 17 of the 19 on the destroyer were interviewed. A combined total of 58 white enlisted men were interviewed. The effort was made to include enlisted men from all ranks (Tables A-3 and A-5). In the tugboat section, 19 enlisted men and women were interviewed. Also seen were the enlisted women who were assigned to various offices on the Base.

6. Civilians

Fourteen civilians employed at the Base in offices such as Civilian Personnel, Security, Port Services, Base Administration, and six civilians living in the community but not affiliated with the Base were also interviewed.

TABLE A-3

INFORMANTS ON THE SHIPS

	Auxiliary Repair Ship	Destroyer	
Officers	13 (44.8)*	6 (28.6)	19
Enlisted Men (Black)	16 (42.1)	17 (89.5)	33
Enlisted Men (White)	37 (8.2)	21 (12.6)	58
Enlisted Men (Other Minorities)	12 (26.7)	5 (21.7)	17
TOTAL	78	49	127

*Numbers in brackets represent percentage of informants in the sub-population.

C. Observations

The method of participant observation, while ideal, was not feasible. Hence, the method of non-participant observation was used in each of the three settings. A sample of settings was selected and systematic observations were made as the target groups moved through them. Special events occurring in the lives of the groups were also observed.

A-11

TABLE A-4

DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMANTS BY RANK
(Officers)

Rank	<u>Auxiliary Repair Shop</u>		<u>Destroyer</u>	
	Total No. In Population	No. of Informants "Sample"	Total No. In Population	No. of Informants "Sample"
Warrant Officers	6	2	1	-
Ensign	3	-	8	1
Lt. Junior Grade	4	1	5	-
Lieutenant	6	4	4	2
Lt. Commander	6	3	1	1
Commander	2	1	1	1
Captain	2*	2	1	1
Total	29	13	21	6

*There was change in Command

TABLE A-5

DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMANTS BY RANK
(Enlisted Men)

	<u>Auxiliary Repair Ship</u>		<u>Destroyer</u>	
	Total No. In Population	No. of Informants "Sample"	Total No. In Population	No. of Informants "Sample"
E-1	7	-	3	-
E-2	68	4	33	2
E-3	98	10	49	11
E-4	172	9	45	7
E-5	79	10	36	5
E-6	62	8	24	7
E-7	33	6	17	5
E-8	7	3	1	-
E-9	5	1	-	-
Rank unascertained	1	14	1	6
Total	532	65	209	43

1. Selection of Ships and Observation Sites

From a list of ships assigned to the Naval Base, two--a destroyer and an auxiliary repair--were chosen because they would be in port between September 1975 and February 1976 permitting sufficient time for sustained observations. Because of the nature of the field work and the small size of the research team, it was thought that an in-depth study of the personnel aboard these two ships would provide much of the data needed to achieve the purposes of the study.

The two ships differed significantly in size, function, length of time in port and organizational structure. The destroyer was small (approximately 350 men) and was often at sea; the auxiliary repair ship, by contrast, was larger (approximately 750 men) and tended to be in port for longer periods of time. The organizational structures of the ships are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

Organizational charts showing the distribution of the men aboard each ship by rank, ethnic background, department, division and work center were prepared by the liaison officer assigned to the research project and his staff. The work center--the smallest organizational unit on a ship--was chosen as the primary observational unit. In the work center, it was possible to observe enlisted men interact with their work environment, with other enlisted personnel as well as with their immediate supervisors.

Technical work centers were chosen from various departments according to their accessibility. Work centers were chosen with respect to ethnic composition and included those with a high proportion of minorities, those with a small number of minorities and those with no minorities. Work

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR THE DESTROYER

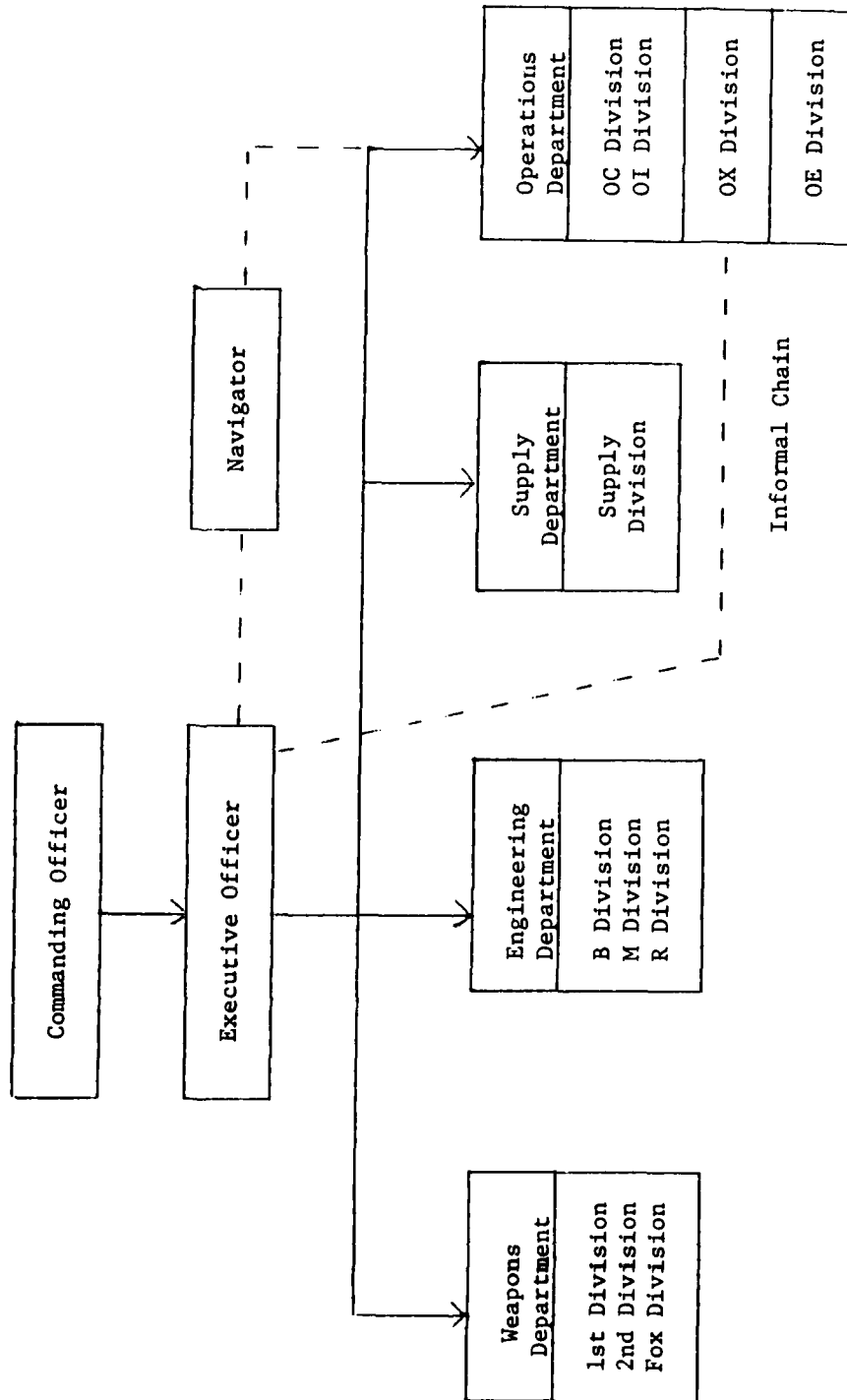


Figure 1

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR THE AUXILIARY REPAIR SHIP

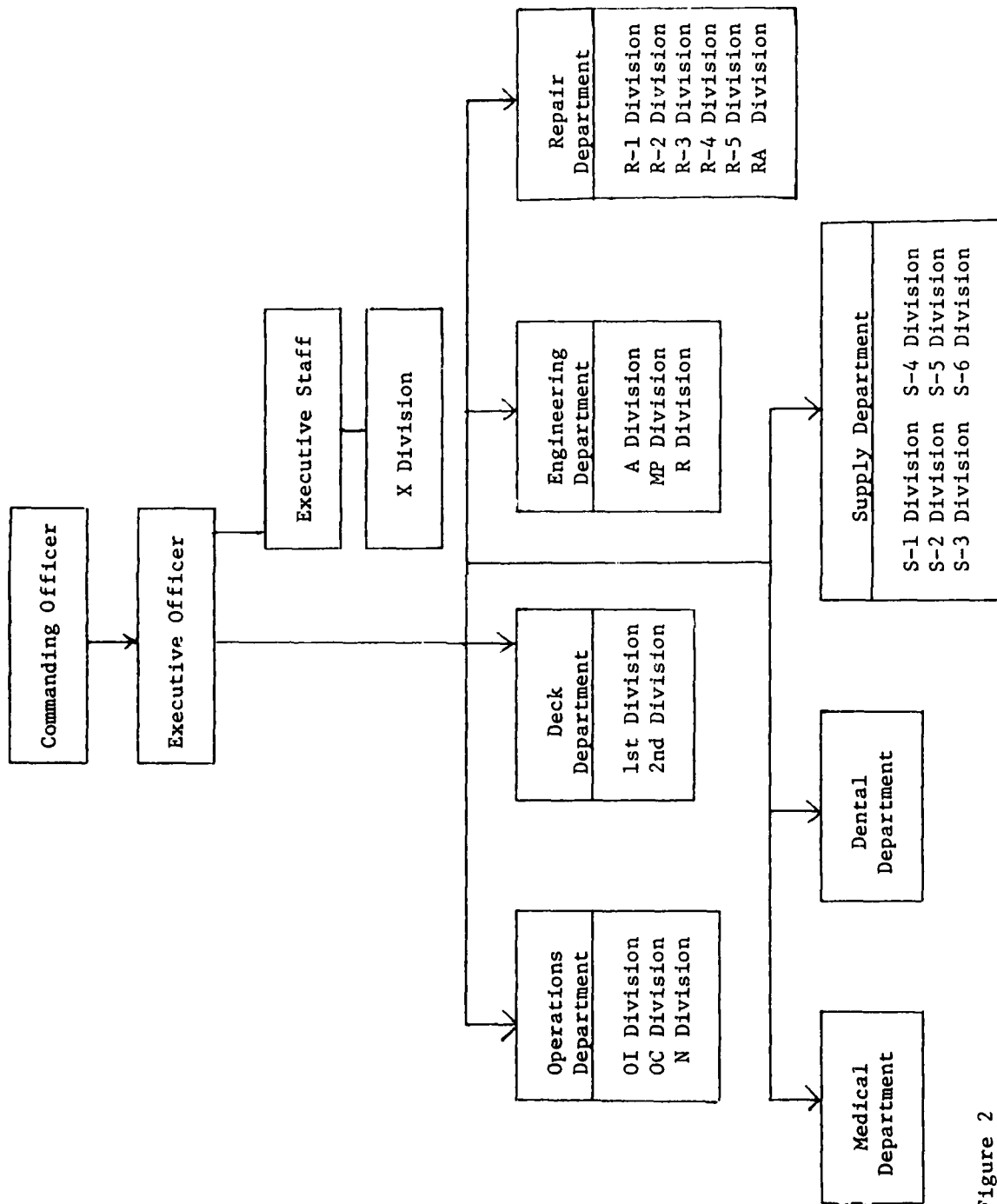


Figure 2

centers offering services to the crews, such as mess halls, barber shops, chapel were also included. A complete list of observation sites aboard both ships is presented in Figure 3.

Women as a minority were a part of the study. Shortly before the research team's arrival, enlisted women had been assigned as crew members aboard the ten harbor tugboats. This provided the unique opportunity to observe interactions between male and female enlisted personnel in work centers. For observational purposes, the tugboat itself was considered a "work center," and the primary observational unit.

A high percentage of women and a few men in the Navy are assigned to administrative positions in which they come into contact with the significant civilian element on the Base. Therefore, a number of offices on the Base were selected to observe interactions between naval personnel and civilians. A listing of these offices is presented in Figure 4.

The research design called for observing naval personnel in as many different settings as possible in order to get a cross-sectional view of their lives outside the work setting. Therefore, sites such as recreational centers, clubs and private homes on the Base were also included (See Figure 4).

D. Questionnaires

1. Construction of the College Questionnaire

The questionnaire (Appendix C) was constructed by using the variables selected from content materials of the interviews and observations conducted during the field work. It was designed to gather information on the patterns of adaptation of both black and white students in predominantly

OBSERVATION SITES ABOARD SHIP

	Auxiliary Repair Ship	Destroyer
WORK CENTERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rewind Shop - Valve Shop - Engine Room - Operations Office - Food Preparation Area - Repair Office - Bridge - Deck - Meter and Projector Shop - Battery Shop - Quarterdeck 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supply Office - Sonar Room - Engine Room - Personnel Office - Food Preparation Area - Security Section - Bridge - Deck - Quarterdeck
OTHER WORK CENTERS (SERVICE AREAS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barber Shop - Ship's Store - Medical and Dental Area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barber Shop - Ship's Store - Sick Bay
OTHER AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mess Hall - Ward Room - Chief Petty Officers' Mess - Crew's Lounge - Chapel - Berthing Areas - General Observations Around the Ship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mess Hall - Ward Room - Chief Petty Officers' Mess - Petty Officers' Mess - First Class Petty Officers' Lounge - Berthing Areas - General Observations Around the Ship

Figure 3

OBSERVATION SITES ON THE BASE AND THE COMMUNITY

	On the Base	In the Community
OFFICES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Security Office - Transient Personnel Office - Civilian Personnel Office - Chaplain's Office - Drug Abuse and Rehabilitation Center - Base Commander's Office - Base Executive Officer's Office - Port Services - Human Goals Department 	
SERVICE, SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Base Chapel - Base Cafeteria - Base Grocery Store - Officers' Club - Chief Petty Officers' Club - Enlisted Men's Club - Snack Bars - Tennis Courts - Bowling Alleys - Basketball Courts - Swimming Pool 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Night Clubs Frequented by Navy Personnel
RESIDENTIAL AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Single Navy Personnel's Dormitory - Private Homes on the Base 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Private Homes of Navy Persons - Private Homes of Civilians Who Work on the Base - Private Homes of Other Civilians
OTHER AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General Observations Made Walking or Driving Around the Base 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General Observations Made Walking or Driving in the Community

Figure 4

white and intercultural settings and the factors which account for the differences in these patterns. Specifically, the information was to (1) provide a picture of black students who choose to go into predominantly white institutions, (2) describe patterns of interaction of black students with each other, with white students, and with faculty and administration, (3) describe the attitudes of both black and white students on various issues, (4) describe the extent to which black and white students participate in activities on the college campus, (5) identify and analyze conflicts which black and white students experience and how they deal with them, (6) describe the educational and vocational aspirations and goals of both black and white students, and (7) identify and analyze the possible existence of campus myths.

On the assumption that campus myths may exist, particularly with respect to racial issues and concerns, questions of the following order were asked:

I think the students here value hard work

Most blacks think the same

Most whites think the same

The first version of the questionnaire was administered to a group of 15 students at Tuskegee Institute to determine the clarity of the questions for undergraduate students and the length of time required to complete them.

The questionnaire was revised and pretested on a group of 25 students at each institution under conditions similar to those that would be used in its final administration.

Selection of the Sample for The College and The University

Complete lists of all full-time undergraduate students for the

1974-75 academic year were obtained from the two institutions. Because of the small number of black students at both institutions, the decision was made to include the total black populations in the study. Tables A-6 and A-8 give the distribution of the black students by sex and classification.

The white student population was stratified by sex and classification at The College, and, by school, sex and classification at The University. Based on target samples of 425 (10.5% of the total white student population) and 300 (24.4% of the white population) for The University and The College, respectively, a representative sample of students was selected from each stratum (see Tables A-7 and A-9). The students were selected at random by using a series of random numbers generated by the computer on the basis of the total number of students needed in the stratum.

A letter (Appendix F) was sent to the students to inform them of (1) the purpose of the study, (2) their selection and the nature of their participation, (3) the time, date and place assigned to them to complete the questionnaires, (4) the confidentiality of their responses, and (5) the significance of the study.

Administration of the College Questionnaire

The pencil-and-paper questionnaire was administered on the two college campuses during the months of April and May 1975. It was administered to students in groups of about 50 in various classrooms which had been assigned to the research staff through the cooperation of the college officials. Each administration was under the supervision of

TABLE A-6

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENT POPULATION AT THE
COLLEGE BY SEX AND CLASSIFICATION

Sex						
Classification	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	Pct.*	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Freshman	15	10.8	18	12.9	33	23.7
Sophomore	21	15.1	24	17.4	45	32.4
Junior	12	8.6	18	12.9	30	21.6
Senior	11	7.9	20	14.4	31	22.3
TOTAL	59	42.4	80	57.6	139	100.0

* Percentages of Total Population

TABLE A-7

STRATIFICATION OF WHITE STUDENTS AT THE COLLEGE
BY SEX AND CLASSIFICATION

Sex and Classification	Total Number of Students in Population (a)	Percent of Students in Population (b) = $a/A \times 100$	Actual Number for Stratifi- cation (c) = (B x b)	Rounded Number for Stratification
Male	564	45.9	137.7	138
Freshman	189	15.4	46.2	46
Sophomore	134	11.0	33.0	33
Junior	120	9.7	29.1	29
Senior	121	9.8	29.4	30
Female	666	54.1	162.3	162
Freshman	221	18.0	54.0	54
Sophomore	169	13.7	41.1	41
Junior	132	10.7	32.1	32
Senior	144	11.7	35.1	35

Total Number of Students in Population = 1,230 (A)

Total Number of Students in the Sample = 300 (B)

TABLE A-8

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK STUDENT POPULATION AT THE
UNIVERSITY BY SEX AND CLASSIFICATION

Classification	Sex					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	Pct.*	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Freshman	20	14.9	10	7.5	30	22.4
Sophomore	28	20.9	17	12.7	45	33.6
Junior	23	17.2	14	10.4	37	27.6
Senior	16	11.9	6	4.5	22	16.4
TOTAL	87	64.9	47	35.1	134	100.0

*Percentages of Total Population

TABLE A-9

STRATIFICATION OF WHITE STUDENTS AT
THE UNIVERSITY BY SCHOOL

School	Total Number of Students in Population (a)	Percent of Students in Population (b) = $a/A \times 100$	Actual Number for Stratifi- cation (c) = $(B \times b)$	Rounded Number for Stratification
Architecture	285	7.1	30.2	31
Arts & Sciences	1937	47.8	203.2	203
Engineering	467	11.5	48.9	49
Newcomb College	1360	33.6	142.8	143

Total Number of Students in Population = 4,049 (A)

Total Number of Students in the Sample = 425 (B)

one or two members of the research staff from Tuskegee Institute, who reiterated points in letters mailed to the students, as mentioned above. Students were instructed not to write their names on the questionnaires. All students were asked to sign consent forms (Appendix F) to confirm their willingness to participate in the study.

The students, on the average, took 45 minutes to complete the questionnaires. Some students, however, took as little as 25 minutes while some took as long as an hour and twenty minutes.

Those students who could not appear at the scheduled times were contacted by a memorandum (Appendix F) and new times were scheduled. For students who could not be present at any of the formal sessions, questionnaires, with self-addressed envelopes, were given or sent to them to be completed and mailed within a specified time (Appendix F). No attempt was made to follow up those students who did not respond to the third contact.

Response Rates

As can be seen in Table 10, the response rates varied from a low of 42% for The University white students to a relatively high of 70% for The College black students. Given the time that the questionnaires were administered (about two weeks prior to final examinations) it was felt that the response rates, although low by some standards, were adequate.

A net total of 232 questionnaires from The University and 230 from The College were completed. Since the primary focus of the study was on black students in the United States, all foreign students (black or

otherwise) as well as other non-white minorities were eliminated from the study.

A few students were eliminated from the study at both colleges because they either refused to complete the questionnaires or sent in partially filled one.

TABLE A-10
RESPONSE RATES

Stratum	Total No. Sampled for Stratification (a)	No. of With-drawals/ Graduates & Additions (b)	Net Sample (c)=a + b	No. of Completed Questionnaires (d)	Response Rates (d/c) x 100
White students at The University	425	-25	400	169	42.3%
Black students at The University	134	-14	120	63	52.5%
White students at The College	300	-38	262	139	53.1%
Black students at The College	139	-10	129	91	70.5%

The University and The College Sample Characteristics

The College sample consists of 27 male and 64 female black students, and 48 male and 91 female white students. The distribution of the sample

with respect to sex and classification is very similar to that of the population (Tables A-11 to A-14) in spite of the low response rates.

The University sample consists of 37 male and 26 female black students, and 98 male and 71 female white students. As with The College sample, the distribution with respect to school, sex and classification is similar to that of the population (Tables A-15 to A-19).

The Navy Questionnaire

For an understanding of the complete methodological plan, a description of the construction and proposed administration of the questionnaire is being presented although it was not administered.

A paper-and-pencil questionnaire (Appendix D) was constructed to study the structure of interpersonal relationships among members of specified groups (black and white enlisted men, officers and women) in a variety of settings in the Navy.

The method for studying the structure of interpersonal relationships calls on respondents to make sociometric choices according to specified criteria. Typically, this technique has been used to study the structure of small groups, but Lundberg and Dickson (1952) used it successfully to study inter-ethnic relations in a high school setting with an enrollment of about 1500 students.

A method, similar to that used by Lundberg and Dickson, was adopted to study the Navy setting. Specifically, the questionnaire was designed to study:

A-25

TABLE A-11

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGE WHITE STUDENTS
BY SEX FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Sex	Sample	Population
Male	34.5	54.3
Female	65.5	45.7

TABLE A-12

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGE WHITE STUDENTS BY
CLASS FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Class	Sample	Population
Freshman	40.3	36.2
Sophomore	25.2	26.0
Junior	17.3	20.0
Senior	17.3	18.9

TABLE A-13

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGE BLACK STUDENTS
BY SEX FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Sex	Sample	Population
Male	29.7	39.5
Female	70.3	60.5

TABLE A-14

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGE BLACK STUDENTS BY
CLASS FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Class	Sample	Population
Freshman	30.8	27.8
Sophomore	26.4	29.5
Junior	23.1	24.1
Senior	19.8	18.6

TABLE A-15

DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY BLACK STUDENTS
BY SEX FOR THE POPULATION
AND SAMPLE

Sex	Sample	Population
Male	58.7	64.9
Female	41.3	35.1

TABLE A-16

DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY BLACK STUDENTS
BY CLASS FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Class	Sample	Population
Freshman	28.6	22.4
Sophomore	31.8	33.6
Junior	28.6	27.6
Senior	11.1	16.4

A-27

TABLE A-17

DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY WHITE STUDENTS
BY SEX FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Sex	Sample	Population
Male	58.0	65.3
Female	42.0	34.7

TABLE A-18

DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY WHITE STUDENTS
BY CLASS FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Class	Sample	Population
Freshman	28.5	31.3
Sophomore	30.1	25.7
Junior	19.5	20.9
Senior	18.7	19.3
Fifth Year	3.2	1.2
Unclassified	0.0	1.6

TABLE A-19

DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY WHITE STUDENTS
BY SCHOOL FOR THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE

School	Sample	Population
Arts & Sciences/ Newcomb	100.0	100.0
Architecture	87.0	81.4
Engineering	8.3	7.1
	4.7	11.5

1. the extent to which Navy personnel choose associates for various types of relationships (friendships, work partners, etc.) (a) from their own ethnic groups, and (b) from other ethnic groups;
2. the relative status of various ethnic groups as reflected in the respondents' choices of members of each group according to specified characteristics (competence, leadership quality, etc.);
3. the extent to which male and female Navy personnel who work together choose associates for various types of relationships (a) from members of their own sex and (b) from members of the opposite sex;
4. the relative status of male and female Navy personnel as reflected in the respondents' choices of members of each group according to specified characteristics;
5. the extent to which Navy personnel choose associates from civilian groups;
6. the association of certain factors (rank, marital status, place of residence, education, etc.) with the number and kind of choices made by respondents.

The Navy Instrument

The questionnaire is divided into four sections containing a total of 62 items.

Section I consists of items relating to the respondents' personal background (place of origin, marital status, educational background, etc.), their status in the Navy (rank, length of time in service, etc.), and their current service and occupational plans. These items are conceived to be factors which would help to explain the kind and number of sociometric choices made by the respondents. Also, items about the spouses of married personnel were included to assess the extent to which ethnic,

educational and occupational characteristics of the spouses begin to explain respondents' interpersonal relationships with other Navy personnel and civilians both on and off the Base. One question (1.19) is included to assess the extent to which contact with civilians on the Base during working hours affects Navy personnel's social relations with civilians in general.

Section II asks respondents to make sociometric choices among their shipmates along eight dimensions specified below. Two considerations guided the choice of items included in this section. One was the need to identify the extent to which Navy personnel choose associates for specific types of relationships; the other was the need to identify characteristics deemed desirable for associates to have for these relationships. Respondents were asked to name no more than three persons for specified relationships and characteristics.

The various types of relationships identified and the items relating to them are as follows:

Representatives:

Item 2.5: Persons to represent your personal interests.

Item 2.6: Persons to represent your work interests.

Friendships:

Item 2.7: Persons you consider to be your close or personal friends.

Work Partners:

Item 2.9: Persons you would like to work with on a rescue mission.

Item 2.10: Persons you would like to work with to plan a Navy picnic.

Negative Association:

Item 2.8: Persons you find uncomfortable to associate with.

The characteristics identified are as follows:

Competency: Item 2.1

Leadership qualities: Item 2.2

Dependability: Item 2.3

Sociability: Item 2.4

The Criswell self-preference index (Criswell, 1943) was to be used to analyze the extent to which respondents choose associates for various types of relationships from specified groups.

The index is defined as follows:

$$\text{Self-Preference Index} = \frac{\text{No. of choices given In-group}}{\text{No. of choices given Out-group}} \div \frac{\text{No. of people in In-group}}{\text{No. of people in Out-group}}$$

The index derived from the double ratio interprets the actual distribution of choices in relation to the distribution which would occur by chance. It varies from zero to infinity. A value of one indicates that the in-group has no preference between itself and the out-group. A value less than one indicates that the out-group is preferred to the in-group and a value greater than one indicates in-group preferences.

Section III of the questionnaire concerns the extent to which Navy personnel associate with each other on and off the Base, and Section IV deals with the extent to which Navy personnel associate with civilians on and off the Base. Questions relating to the characteristics of these

associates are included in both sections.

The Navy Sample

The total populations (officers and enlisted personnel) of the two ships and the tugboats were to be included in the study. The total number of men on the destroyer was estimated to be between 300 and 350, and the auxiliary repair ship between 600 and 700 men. The total number of personnel on the tugboats was estimated to be between 60 and 70.

Method of Administration of Navy Questionnaire

The availability of the two ships had a large influence on the expected dates of the administration of the questionnaire. The details of its administration were discussed with the executive officers on the ships and the officer in charge of the tugboat section. The officers offered their support and gave their assistance during the planning stages. However, as the final administration dates approached, considerable resistance from the executive officers of both ships was encountered. (There had been a change in command on the two ships, including a new executive officer on one of them.) Several reasons for the resistance were given: either the ships' personnel were preparing to go to sea or were busy preparing for major ship inspections.

The questionnaire was to be administered in group sessions. Aboard the destroyer, groups of 50 enlisted men were to assemble in the Mess Hall. Aboard the auxiliary repair ship, groups of 100 enlisted men were to assemble in the Base Theatre. Officers were to complete the questionnaire in their respective Ward Rooms, and the personnel from the tugboats were to complete them in the Base Theatre in one session.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

B-2

TABLE B-1

AGE OF STUDENTS

Student's Age	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Nineteen	26.1	26.4	25.8	26.8	41.0
Twenty	22.7	30.6	33.9	24.1	12.8
Twenty-one	23.9	19.8	22.6	20.5	25.7
Twenty-two	19.3	18.2	14.5	24.1	17.9
Twenty-three	8.0	5.0	3.2	4.5	2.6
Mean Age:	20.6	20.4	20.4	20.5	20.3
Number of Students	(88)	(121)	(62)	(112)	(39)

^aChi-square = 2.31; p < .70

^bChi-square = 9.30; p < .40

TABLE B-2

MARITAL AND DATING STATUS OF STUDENTS

Marital/Dating Status	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Married	5.5	10.1	4.8	6.5	2.2
Engaged	3.3	11.6	4.8	1.6	0.0
Going Steady	46.1	25.4	41.2	17.9	23.9
Dating Different People	31.9	42.0	42.9	68.3	67.4
Do Not Date	13.2	10.9	6.3	5.7	6.5
Number of Students	(91)	(138)	(63)	(123)	(46)

^aChi-square = 14.77; $p < .01$

^bChi-square = 18.20; $p < .05$

TABLE B-3
DESCRIPTION OF STUDENTS' HOMETOWN

Hometown	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Rural Area	18.7	45.3	3.2	1.6	0.0
Small Town	12.1	16.8	3.2	6.5	2.2
Small City	37.4	30.7	9.7	17.9	17.8
Middle Sized City	7.7	4.4	14.5	11.4	11.1
Large City/Metropolis	24.2	2.9	69.4	62.6	68.9
Number of Students	(91)	(137)	(62)	(123)	(45)

^aChi-square = 35.40; p .001

^bChi-square = 5.96; p .65

TABLE B-4
DISTANCE OF STUDENTS' HOMETOWN FROM THE INSTITUTION

Distance from College	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Less than 50 miles	4.4	21.6	60.3	28.5	10.9
50-99 miles	7.7	10.1	4.8	1.6	0.0
100-199 miles	13.2	28.1	7.9	3.2	2.2
200-499 miles	48.4	30.2	15.9	10.6	2.2
500-999 miles	22.0	7.2	7.9	29.3	34.8
1000 miles or more	4.4	2.9	3.2	26.8	50.0
Number of Students	(91)	(139)	(63)	(123)	(46)

^aChi-square = 31.23; p <.005

^bChi-square = 65.90; p <.001

TABLE B-5
SIZE OF STUDENTS' FAMILIES

Number of People in the Family	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Two	3.4	7.6	6.3	10.2	4.3
Three	11.5	20.6	19.1	22.2	28.3
Four	17.2	25.2	17.5	26.5	28.3
Five	11.5	19.8	20.6	20.5	32.6
Six	22.9	11.5	14.3	10.3	4.3
Seven or More	33.3	15.3	22.2	10.3	2.2
Average Number of People in the Family	5.5	4.6	5.1	4.3	4.1
Number of Students	(87)	(131)	(63)	(117)	(46)

^aChi-square = 19.73; p <.01

^bChi-square = 18.91; p <.05

B-6

TABLE B-6

EDUCATION OF STUDENTS' FATHERS

Father's Education	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Less than High School	72.1	50.0	44.4	3.3	4.4
High School Graduate	12.8	21.0	15.9	7.3	6.5
Some College	10.5	13.1	14.3	15.5	17.4
College Graduate	2.3	3.6	7.9	28.5	26.1
More than College	2.3	12.3	17.5	45.5	45.7
Number of Students	(86)	(138)	(63)	(123)	(46)

^aChi-square = 13.24; p .01

^bChi-square = 74.03; p .001

TABLE B-7

EDUCATION OF STUDENTS' MOTHERS

Mother's Education	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Less than High School	54.4	46.8	27.0	0.8	0.0
High School Graduate	30.0	26.6	20.6	17.1	13.0
Some College	8.9	15.8	22.2	32.5	30.4
College Graduate	3.3	5.8	12.7	30.1	45.6
More than College	3.3	5.0	17.5	19.5	10.9
Number of Students	(90)	(139)	(63)	(123)	(46)

^aChi-square = 3.90; p <.579

^bChi-square = 54.30; p <.001

B-7

TABLE B-8
OCCUPATION OF STUDENTS' FATHERS

Father's Occupation	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Professional, Technical or Managerial	6.6	26.3	36.8	60.8	58.7
Clerical and Sales	4.0	6.0	8.8	16.7	28.3
Service Occupations	21.1	9.0	10.5	4.2	6.5
Farming, etc.	6.6	9.0	3.5	1.7	0.0
Processing Occupations	6.6	6.8	1.8	1.7	0.0
Machine Trades Occupations	13.2	13.5	10.5	2.5	0.0
Bench Work	4.0	1.5	5.3	2.5	2.2
Structural Work Occupations	15.8	13.5	8.8	5.0	2.2
Other Occupations	14.5	13.5	14.0	4.2	2.2
Don't know	7.9	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0
Number of Students	(76)	(133)	(57)	(120)	(46)

^aChi-square = 31.73; $p < .05$

^bChi-square values not calculated due to small cell values.

TABLE B-9

OCCUPATION OF STUDENTS' MOTHERS

Mother's Occupation	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Professional	14.0	21.3	34.4	35.0	29.6
Clerical and Sales	8.1	16.2	13.1	15.4	20.5
Service Occupation	31.4	9.6	11.5	1.7	4.6
Farming, Fishery, Forestry	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Processing Occupations	2.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Machine Trades Occupations	5.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bench Work Occupation	2.3	2.2	3.3	0.0	0.0
Structural Work Occupations	-	-	1.6	0.0	0.0
Other Occupations	-	1.5	1.6	0.0	4.6
Housewife	36.1	47.1	34.4	47.9	40.9
Number of Students	(86)	(136)	(61)	(117)	(44)

^{a, b} Chi-square values not calculated because of small cell values.

TABLE B-10

ESTIMATED ANNUAL INCOME OF STUDENTS' FAMILIES

Annual Income	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Less than \$3,000	23.3	7.4	4.92	0.83	2.17
\$3,000 - \$5,999	21.1	19.3	11.48	1.65	0.00
\$6,000 - \$8,999	23.3	24.4	9.84	2.48	0.00
\$9,000 - \$11,999	14.4	20.7	24.59	6.61	2.17
\$12,000 - \$14,999	13.3	17.0	13.11	9.09	4.35
\$15,000 and over	4.4	11.1	36.07	77.69	91.31
Number of Students	(90)	(135)	(61)	(121)	(46)

^aChi-square = 14.50; p < .05

^bChi-square = 56.07; p < .001

TABLE B-11

SIZE OF HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED BY STUDENTS

Size of High School	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Less than 500 students	18.9	38.9	33.3	29.3	26.1
500 - 899 students	30.0	33.8	34.9	17.1	2.2
900 - 1500 students	36.7	22.3	20.6	27.6	15.2
1500 or more students	14.4	5.0	11.1	26.0	56.5
Number of Students	(90)	(139)	(63)	(123)	(46)

^aChi-square = 17.90; $p < .05$ ^bChi-square = 38.53; $p < .001$

TABLE B-12

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED BY STUDENTS

Type of High School	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Integrated					
Predominantly Black	6.6	-	15.9	2.4	0.0
Integrated					
Predominantly White	71.4	72.7	49.2	80.5	80.0
Not Integrated					
Black	22.0	-	34.9	0.0	0.0
Not Integrated					
White	-	27.3	0.0	17.1	20.0
Number of Students	(91)	(139)	(63)	(123)	(45)

^aChi-square = 9.80; $p < .10$ ^bChi-square = 28.74; $p < .001$

TABLE B-13

STUDENTS' HIGH SCHOOL GRADE POINT AVERAGE

High School Grade Point Average	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
A or A-	12.1	24.5	34.9	33.6	45.7
B+	33.0	38.1	34.9	42.6	19.6
B	25.3	20.9	17.5	15.6	17.4
B-	9.9	12.9	6.4	4.9	13.0
C+	13.2	1.4	1.6	2.5	4.4
C or below	6.6	2.2	4.8	0.8	0.0
Number of Students	(91)	(139)	(63)	(122)	(46)

^aChi-square = 20.85; p < .05^bChi-square = 15.22; p < .20

TABLE B-14

FRIENDSHIP WITH STUDENTS OF OTHER
ETHNIC GROUPS IN HIGH SCHOOL

Number of Friends from other Ethnic Groups	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
None	16.5	24.8	24.6	11.5	10.9
One or two	20.9	14.6	16.4	21.3	17.4
Three or more	62.6	60.6	59.0	67.2	71.7
Number of Students	(91)	(137)	(61)	(122)	(46)

^aChi-square = 3.06; p < .25^bChi-square = 6.64; p < .20

TABLE B-15

FACTORS INFLUENCING STUDENTS' DECISION
TO ATTEND THE INSTITUTION

Factor	Percentage* of Students Regarding Factor as "Very Important"				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Adequacy of the College Cost	86.8	72.5	38.1	24.6	19.7
Type of Degree Programs Offered	46.2	43.2	63.5	48.8	37.0
Suitability of the College's Academic Standards	40.0	45.3	68.3	77.3	78.3
Prestige of Degree from College	38.5	29.5	57.1	42.6	43.5
External Influence (Parents, teachers, etc. advised you)	30.8	21.6	17.7	13.0	17.4
Distance of College from Home	26.4	12.9	15.9	10.7	17.4
Social Atmosphere in and Around the Campus	17.6	25.9	15.9	27.6	56.5
Size of the College	14.4	31.7	14.3	27.1	34.8
The Racial Composition of the Students	9.9	0.7	6.4	1.6	6.5
Geographic Location of College	6.6	10.1	19.1	28.7	41.3

*Students rated the importance of each factor separately. Each percentage is the proportion of students who rated the factor "very important."

TABLE B-16

STUDENTS' GENERAL FEELINGS AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THEIR COLLEGE
EXPERIENCES PRIOR TO ATTENDING THE INSTITUTION

Factor	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
For me, the opportunity to obtain a good education at a reputable institution was my primary concern	78.0	80.4	88.7	93.5	92.6
I was looking forward to meeting and getting to know people of different ethnic backgrounds	73.3	79.1	45.2	58.9	57.4
I was worried about racial discrimination at this college	44.4	12.3	33.9	9.0	13.1
I was concerned that my high school preparation was inadequate	37.4	49.3	45.2	28.7	20.0
I was worried about academic failure	27.5	29.5	29.0	23.8	21.7
For me, the thought of being assimilated into the dominant culture of college was bothersome	27.5	28.1	38.3	34.2	40.0
I was looking forward to possibly have a roommate from a different ethnic background	26.4	27.7	13.3	21.8	35.5
For me, the possibility of dating someone from a different ethnic background was appealing	24.2	23.9	17.7	22.1	23.9

* Percentages represent the proportion of students who agree to the statement.

TABLE B-17

STUDENTS' SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE
AT THE INSTITUTION

College Grade Point Average	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
A or A+	0.0	7.2	6.4	21.5	21.7
B+	12.1	16.6	9.5	23.1	26.1
B	27.4	37.4	19.1	28.1	28.3
B-	23.1	21.6	11.1	11.6	8.7
C+	19.8	12.9	22.2	5.8	6.5
C	14.3	4.3	23.8	8.3	2.2
C- or below	3.3	0.0	7.9	1.6	6.5
Number of Students	(91)	(139)	(63)	(121)	(46)

^aChi-square = 21.80; p < .01^bChi-square = 41.78; p < .001

TABLE B-18

STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH
THEIR GRADES REPRESENT THEIR ABILITY

Extent to which Grades Represent Student's Ability	Percentage of Students				
	The College ^a		The University ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
It greatly over represents my ability	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
It slightly over represents my ability	5.5	3.6	6.35	4.10	4.35
It is a fair indication of my ability	30.8	38.1	9.52	32.79	32.61
It slightly under represents my ability	47.2	47.5	39.68	48.36	39.96
It greatly under represents my ability	16.5	10.1	44.44	14.75	26.09
Number of Students	(91)	(139)	(63)	(122)	(46)

^aChi-square = 3.75; p < .75^bChi-square = 23.66; p < .001

TABLE B-19

STUDENTS' GENERAL PERCEPTION OF THE COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

Factor	Percentage of Students*				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
<u>Academic</u>					
The college has a good academic reputation	85.7	86.3	96.8	93.5	91.3
There is a strong emphasis on academic achievement	65.2	67.6	93.7	76.4	84.8
Most students have high academic ability	67.4	64.7	81.0	74.8	63.0
<u>Social</u>					
Fraternities and sororities are over-emphasized	6.1	8.9	42.9	38.2	52.2
Student participation in campus activities is minimal	71.1	70.5	46.0	61.8	65.2
There is very little social life on campus	78.9	53.2	61.3	11.4	15.2
<u>Ethnic Relations</u>					
There is a positive attitude with regard to black/white relations	41.8	67.6	39.7	63.4	43.5
Tensions exist among black students	71.1	52.2	71.4	28.7	30.4
Tensions exist among white students	46.7	58.7	46.0	45.1	41.3

TABLE B-19--Continued

Factor	Percentage of Students*				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
<u>Ethnic Relations, (cont'd)</u>					
The location of campus reduces the need for solidarity among students	32.2	19.7	41.3	60.6	46.7
<u>Rules and Regulations</u>					
The rules and regulations are unbearable	46.1	26.6	9.5	10.6	21.7
<u>Value of Work</u>					
The students here value hard work	27.0	40.6	50.8	55.7	45.7
<u>Religion</u>					
There is a strong emphasis on religion	53.3	52.5	7.94	8.1	10.8
<u>Athletics</u>					
Athletes are usually given special privileges	21.4	30.2	61.9	83.7	91.3

* The percentages represent the proportion of students who agree with the statement.

TABLE B-20

STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE FACULTY MEMBERS'
ATTITUDE TOWARD BLACK STUDENTS

Factor	Percentage of Students*				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
The faculty and administration feel paternalistic toward blacks	24.17	24.82	14.51	10.57	17.78
Faculty members are reluctant to confront blacks about their work for fear of being labelled "racist"	26.37	30.66	20.97	19.67	13.33
The faculty tends to notice deficiencies among black students in a way that they do not notice in the white students	54.95	24.09	54.09	11.48	15.55
Most of the faculty and administration feel that black students should be grateful for opportunities being granted them at this college	53.84	27.74	35.48	21.31	26.66

*The percentages represent the proportion of students who agree to the statement.

TABLE B-21

THE COLLEGE

EXTENT TO WHICH STUDENTS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
OPPORTUNITIES AT THE COLLEGE

Opportunities	Percentage of Students who "to a great extent" take advantage of the opportunity			
	Black	White	χ^2	p
To obtain financial assistance	51.81	39.55	8.95	< .01
To pursue intellectual activities	18.82	20.15	2.97	n.s.*
To express myself in personally satisfying ways	43.53	31.85	4.70	n.s.
To pursue preparatory courses for study	40.00	41.79	0.18	n.s.
To participate in minority-oriented cultural and social affairs	39.53	11.94	30.18	< .01
To develop friends from other ethnic backgrounds	40.70	45.93	0.68	n.s.
To enroll in courses relating to cultural minorities	29.41	19.40	5.79	n.s.
To develop new friendships in general	57.65	68.15	2.53	n.s.
To learn by doing	57.65	58.82	0.22	n.s.
To discuss ideas with others for intellectual stimulation	39.53	35.56	1.59	n.s.
To date	30.95	35.61	0.50	n.s.
To participate in social affairs	31.40	22.96	2.85	n.s.
To participate in athletic affairs	16.28	29.63	5.26	n.s.
To seek academic counseling	22.89	18.52	1.58	n.s.
To seek counseling in personal matters	13.10	9.60	0.65	n.s.

TABLE B-21--Continued

Opportunities	Percentage of Students who "to a great extent" take advantage of the opportunity		χ^2	p
	Black	White		
To develop individual contact with faculty members	17.70	31.90	5.96	<.01
To join fraternities/ sororities	2.50	3.20	0.58	n.s.
To join special interest groups	11.90	15.60	2.24	n.s.
To explore and come to know the surrounding geographical and cultural area	15.10	23.10	5.00	n.s.

* n.s. = Not Significant

TABLE B-22

THE UNIVERSITYEXTENT TO WHICH STUDENTS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
OPPORTUNITIES AT THE UNIVERSITY

Opportunities	Percentage of Students who "to a great extent" take advantage of the opportunity			χ^2	p
	Black	White	Jewish		
To obtain financial assistance	75.00	32.52	8.89	58.89	<.001
To pursue intellectual activities	6.56	21.95	26.67	17.65	<.01
To express myself in personally satisfying ways	26.67	38.33	42.22	9.88	<.01
To pursue preparatory courses for study	45.00	49.59	57.78	11.03	<.05
To participate in minority-oriented cultural and social affairs	49.18	2.48	6.67	80.16	<.001
To develop friends from other ethnic backgrounds	24.59	16.39	17.78	3.54	n.s.*
To enroll in courses relating to cultural minorities	8.33	4.07	2.22	13.01	<.05
To develop new friendships in general	52.46	51.64	46.67	3.20	n.s.
To learn by doing	56.67	44.63	50.00	6.42	n.s.
To discuss ideas with others for intellectual stimulation	36.67	47.97	46.67	7.98	n.s.
To date	30.51	36.07	28.89	5.07	n.s.
To participate in social affairs	18.03	27.64	28.89	5.90	n.s.
To participate in athletic affairs	29.51	17.21	20.00	4.03	n.s.
To seek academic counseling	19.67	16.26	6.67	4.14	n.s.
To seek counseling in personal matters	10.00	6.50	4.44	1.71	n.s.

TABLE B-22--Continued

Opportunities	Percentage of Students who "to a great extent" take advantage of the opportunity			X ²	p
	Black	White	Jewish		
To develop individual contact with faculty members	16.67	23.77	17.78	2.37	n.s.
To join fraternities/ sororities	9.84	25.41	28.89	17.17	<.01
To join special interest groups	4.92	21.31	17.78	18.55	<.01
To explore and come to know the surrounding geographical and cultural area	28.33	43.09	26.67	8.31	n.s.

* n.s. = Not Significant

TABLE B-23

STUDENT'S MEMBERSHIP IN CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS

Number of Organizations of which Student is a Member	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College</u> ^a		<u>The University</u> ^b		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
None	8.0	26.5	9.6	19.2	10.9
One	20.4	25.7	33.3	35.8	23.9
Two	40.9	19.9	33.3	19.2	26.1
Three	19.3	19.1	15.9	15.0	19.5
Four	8.0	5.9	6.3	5.0	10.9
Five	3.4	2.9	1.6	5.8	8.7
Average Number of Organizations of which Student is a Member	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.7	2.2
Average Number of Organizations of which Student is an <u>Active</u> Member	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.6
Number of Students	(88)	(136)	(63)	(120)	(46)

^aChi-square = 21.45; p < .01^bChi-square = 17.85; p < .06

TABLE B-24
STUDENT'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College^a</u>		<u>The University^b</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
In a Dormitory/ Student Housing	94.4	82.4	55.6	56.6	73.9
Other Housing on Campus	0.0	0.0	6.4	21.3	21.9
Apartment or Room off Campus	5.6	9.6	4.8	4.9	0.0
At Home with Parents	0.0	8.1	33.3	17.2	4.3
Number of Students	(90)	(136)	(63)	(122)	(46)

^{a, b} Chi-square values not calculated due to small cell values.

TABLE B-25
STUDENT'S FRIENDSHIP WITH PEOPLE OF OTHER
ETHNIC GROUPS AT THE INSTITUTION

Number of Close Friends from Other Ethnic Group	Percentage of Students				
	<u>The College^a</u>		<u>The University^b</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
None	17.8	16.9	33.3	21.9	26.1
One	12.2	4.4	15.0	13.4	4.4
Two or Three	14.4	18.4	18.3	18.5	13.0
Four or More	55.6	60.3	33.3	46.2	56.5
Number of Students	(90)	(136)	(60)	(119)	(46)

^a Chi-square = 5.12; $p < .20$

^b Chi-square = 10.35; $p < .15$

TABLE B-26

PERSONAL ASPIRATIONS AND GOALS

As best as you can guess, what are the chances that you will:	Percentage of Students *				
	<u>The College</u>		<u>The University</u>		
	Black	White	Black	White	Jewish
Graduate with a bachelor's degree?	75.56	85.51	82.54	94.26	91.30
Drop out of college temporarily?	3.33	3.60	4.76	3.31	6.52
Get at least a "B" average?	30.00	47.83	36.51	70.49	73.33
Take more time than required to graduate?	13.33	20.86	6.35	10.74	13.04
Join the military before or after graduation?	6.67	1.45	7.94	4.92	4.35
Change your major area of study?	10.23	7.25	8.06	11.48	15.22
Drop out of college completely?	3.33	1.47	3.28	0.82	4.44
Change your occupational plans?	12.22	9.35	3.23	17.50	15.22
Get married before or soon after graduation?	8.33	22.76	10.00	7.96	11.11
Graduate with honors?	7.87	12.23	4.76	21.67	21.74

*Percentages represent the proportion of students who feel there is a very good chance they would accomplish the goal.

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